KĀVYĀNUṢĀSANA

ACHARYA HEMACHANDRA

ṢRI MAHAVIRA JAINA VIDYALAYA
BOMBAY

काव्यानुशासनम्

आचार्यश्रीहेमचन्द्रविरचितं

तच्च

द्वितीये पुस्तके

॥ प्रथमे विभागे ॥

गुजरातविद्यापीठे भूतपूर्वेण
संस्कृतसाहित्य-भारतीयप्राच्येतिहासाध्यापकेन
पुरातत्त्वमन्दिरभूतपूर्वमन्त्रिणा
परीक्षकोपाभिधेन छोटालालसूनुना रसिकलालेन
आङ्गलभाषायां निबद्धेन गूर्जरत्रेतिहासपूर्वकेण आचार्यश्रीहेमचन्द्रचरितेन
तद्विरचित-ग्रन्थसमालोचनसहितेन सनाथीकृतम्

॥ द्वितीये विभागे ॥

एम. ए.-इत्युपाधिधारिणा प्राप्तभाउदाजी-पारितोषिकेण वेदान्तविषये
प्राप्तभाण्डारकर-पारितोषिकेण गुजरातविद्यापीठे भूतपूर्व-संस्कृताध्यापकेन
एस्. एल. डी. आर्ट्सकोलेजसंस्कृताध्यापकेन
आठवले इत्युपाभिधेन बलवन्तसूनुना रामचन्द्रेण
आङ्गलभाषायां रचितया काव्यानुशासनटिप्पण्या व्याकृतम्

श्रीकाशीविश्वविद्यालय उपकुलपतिपदारोपित-
आचार्यप्रवर-आनन्दशङ्करध्रुवमहोदयैः
पूर्ववचनिकया मण्डितम्

मुम्बईस्थ-श्री महावीरजैनविद्यालयेन
प्रकाशितम्

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KAVYANUSASANA

By

ACHARYA HEMACHANDRA

Volume II

[*Part I*]

INTRODUCTION

Containing a critical account of Mss. and A History of Gujarat as a Back-ground to the Life & Times of Acharya Hemachandra and A Review of His Works

by

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[*Part II*]

NOTES

by

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With a FOREWORD

by

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Pro-Vice-Chancellor & Principal
Benares Hindu University.

SRI MAHAVIRA JAINA VIDYALAYA

BOMBAY

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Vol. II

[*Part I*]

Introduction

[*Part II*]

Notes

Publishers' Preface

We have great pleasure in placing before the public this complete edition of Kâvyânuśâsana, as a masterly work of Sri Hemachandrâchârya the Great Jain Scholar with Alamkârachūḍāmaṇi and Viveka commentaries by the same author. This scholarly work of Sāhitya is almost the last word on the Science of Poetics dealing with all the branches of the interesting subject of Rasas, Alamkâras etc. The treatment of the subject is most scientific and elucidation of its various branches is clear and attractive and in fact leaves nothing to be desired.

With a view to prepare important Jain Works in the interests of the general public keeping in view its admission for the University curriculum, a resolution was passed by the Managing Committee of Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya in the year 1928 to undertake publication of useful works for University purposes after getting prepared texts with notes thereon on modern lines; and in the first place they selected this great work of Hemachandrâchârya and entrusted the execution of the work to Mr. Rasiklal C. Parikh a scholar of great learning.

It is true that a considerable period has elapsed in carrying out the job, but the delay has been sufficiently compensated by the great care taken in preparing the correct copy of the text and supplementing the same by various important indexes which have literally enhanced the usefulness of the book. The same is calculated to facilitate Sahitya Students and research scholars in the matter of references.

But the more important part of the work is the history of Gujarat culminating with Hemchandracharya at the hands of Mr. Parikh. He has spared no pains to make the history very useful and informative. The value of the treatment is enhanced by the writer's supporting almost every statement thereof by quoting relevant authorities. In our view this part of the work will be a landmark in the history of Gujarati literature, and being useful both from historical as well as literary points of view, is sure to find its permanent place in the literary world.

Professor Athavale has prepared notes on the original text and commentary. He being a specialist on the science of Poetics has spared no pains to make the notes useful to the students of Sāhitya and has added to its usefulness by quoting and comparing the subjects under discussion with views of other scholars dealing with the subject of Sāhitya. The foreword at the hands of Acharya Dr. Anandshankar B. Dhruva has added to the intrinsic value of the publication.

If this publication meets with a proper response Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya is very likely to think of undertaking publication of Jain works of general utility with critical notes. For sometime past critical publication of Jain works has been considered a great necessity and we hope this publication will be considered a step towards removal of that long felt want. It is now for the public to judge about the utility of the book.

Vidyalaya Buildings
Gowalia Tank Road,
1st February 1938,
Bombay, 7.

Motichand G. Kapadia
Chandulal S. Modi
Hon. Secr.
Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya.

FOREWORD

It is with much pleasure that I contribute a brief 'Foreword' to this excellent edition of Hemacandra's "Kāvyānuśāsana" which has been prepared by two young scholars—Adhyāpaka Rasiklal C. Parikh of Gujarāt Vidyāpīṭha and Professor R. B. Athavale, formerly of the same Vidyāpīṭha and now Professor of Sanskrit at the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Arts College, Ahmedabad.

My "Foreword" has necessarily to be brief in view of the elaborate Introduction, carefully edited Text of the Sūtrās and the two commentaries, the numerous Appendices and the explanatory Notes already make a volume of more than a thousand pages.

The Introduction is more than an ordinary preface giving the life of the author, enumerating his works and assesing their values. It sets forth the history of the Province to which the author belongs, from the earliest times recorded in the Purāṇas upto those of Siddharāja and Kumarapala—the two celebrated kings of Gujarāt, who were great patrons of learning and were closely associated with Hemacandrācārya in his literary and religious activities. The purpose which the editors have in view relating this long story is 'to provide a background to the life and times of

Hemacandra', who is not only 'a conspicuous personality in the social and political history of Gujarat and one of the greatest apostles of the Jaina Church,' but is, at the same time, an important figure in the history of the Language and Literature of the whole of India. The chapter on Apabhraṃśa in his "*Śabdānuśāsana*" remains to this day the standard work on the language which is the immediate forerunner of more than one modern language of India. Similarly, his *Chandonuśāsana*" supplies information regarding the Prosody of Prākṛta and Apabhraṃśa which is found nowhere else. His "*Deśīnāmamālā*" is a unique work which contains a rich treasure of Deśya words which formed part of the vocabulary of ancient and medieval Indian Languages.

In writing "Śabdānuśāsana", "Chandonuśāsana" and "Kāvyānuśāsana", Hemacandra had for his object the preparation of works on three main branches of learning—Grammar, Prosody and Poetics—works which the Jainas could call their own. Although these works were also given other proper names*, namely, "Siddha-

* Here are two intriguing questions: What is the name of this book? Does the name 'काव्यानुशासन' stand for the sūtras only or does it cover the commentary ('अलङ्कारचूडामणि') also?

As regards the latter, the editors say: "The Sūtras and the Alaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi form one work and are to-gether referred to as "Kāvyānuśāsana," though, strictly speaking, according to the colophons at the end of the manuscripts of the work, the Alaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi is a commentary on the Kāvyānuśāsana and therefore the title Kāvyānuśāsana should be taken to denote the Sūtrās only." To the evidence of the colophons, I would add the more decisive evidence of the mangala verse of

Hemacandra","Chandoviciti" and "Alamkāracūdāmaṇi", they were for the Jainas 'शब्द',-'छन्दस्'- and 'काव्य'-अनुशासन's or the Sciences of Grammar, Prosody and Poetics respectively.

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the Alamkāracuḍāmaṇi ("प्रणम्य परमात्मानं निजं काव्यानुशासनम् etc" which I am inclined to regard as the mangalācaraṇa of अलङ्कारचूडामणि and not of काव्यानुशासन which has its own mangala-'अकृत्रिम etc.') which speaks of 'काव्यानुशासन' as the name of the work of which अलङ्कारचूडामणि is the commentary. Against this, however, is to be set the statement at the commencement of विवेक "काव्यानुशासनस्यायं विवेकः प्रवितन्यते" that विवेक is a commentary on काव्यानुशासन where by 'काव्यानुशासन' we have to understand the सूत्र or कारिका-cum-अलङ्कारचूडामणि since विवेक is actually a commentary not on one but on both. This apparent inconsistency is to be explained as arising from the fact that Hemacandra first composed the Sūtras and gave them the title 'काव्यानुशासन' and to them he added an explanatory वृत्ति which he called अलङ्कारचूडामणि, and the two together were intended to be the Śāstra of काव्य ('काव्यानुशासन').

A still more difficult question is —Is 'काव्यानुशासन' the name of the book or its description? Possibly, it is the latter, meaning merely 'a work of Poetics' like 'शब्दानुशासन' which means 'a work of Grammar' the proper name of the work being सिद्धहेम or सिद्धहेमचन्द्र (Cf 'सिद्धहेमचन्द्राभिधानस्वोपज्ञशब्दानुशासनवृत्ती' in the colophon of Hemacandra's Grammar. Cf also what Hemacandra himself says under verse 2 of काव्यानुशासन viz. शब्दानुशासने सिद्धहेमचन्द्राभिधाने.) On the same lines, "छन्दोविचिति" and not 'छन्दोनुशासन' would seem to be the name of the book, the latter being only a description meaning 'a work on prosody.' And yet these books are known more by their descriptive names namely, अनुशासनs of different subjects, rather than by the proper names such as 'सिद्धहेम' etc.

In the preparation of these special works Hemachandra has been sometimes charged with 'plagiarism'. For example, in his work on Poetics with which we are here concerned, Hemacandra is accused of 'borrowing wholesale' from "Kāvyamîmāṃsā", "Kāvyaprakāśa", "Dhvanyāloka" and "Locana". But an impartial study of his work would show that Hemacandra wants the Jainas to know all that the Brāhmaṇas knew, and consequently he does not hesitate to reproduce the wisdom of his Brāhmaṇa predecessors, while making substantial addition to the stores he has inherited. Now, to compare the works from which he is said to have "borrowed wholesale" with his "Kāvyānuśāsana": "Kāvyamīmāṃsā is a brilliant miscellany on topics relating to Poetry, which, although it can claim originality in the matter of ideas and the mode of presenting them, does not pretend to be a systematic treatise like the "Kāvyaprakāśa" or the "Kāvyānuśāsana". The author of the "Kāvyaprakāśa" tries to work out a synthesis–it is at least a syncretism–of all the theories of Poetry from Bhāmaha downwards, and produces a comprehensive work on Poetics. Yet in so doing he leaves Dramaturgy out in the cold, except in so far as it is connected with *Rasa*. This omission Hemacandra duly supplies, and does what Viśvanātha does in the "Sāhityadarpaṇa" in a later age. The "Dhvanyāloka" and the "Locana" deal with only a certain aspect or type of Poetry and their scope is more limited than that of the Kāvyaprakāśa and à fortiori than that of the "Kāvyānuśāsana".

In justification of the wide range of their Introduction the editors remark that "the cultural life of

the city of Aṇahilavāḍa Pattaṇa"—with which Hemacandra was connected—was in the high tradition of Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayinī, Kānyakubja, Valabhi and Bhinnamāla", and thus the history of the kingdoms and empires of which these cities were capitals becomes distinctly relevant. The editors have accordingly collected information from all possible sources–such as, accounts of travellers, descriptions in literary works, architectural remains, and inscriptions on stones and copper–plates together with such legends in the Purāṇas and the Prabandhas as are not inconsistent with proved historical facts. This makes the Introduction well worth study in order to realise the place of Gujarat and its greatest *savant* in the history of India.

Bombay
August 22, '37

A. B. Dhruva

नमोऽस्तु हेमचन्द्राय विशदा यस्य धीप्रभा ।
विकासयति सर्वाणि शास्त्राणि कुमुदानीव ॥

—संपादकस्य.

INTRODUCTION

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ऐतिह्यानि प्रमाणानि संशोध्य संगृहीतवान् ।
संभवासंभवौ तेषां परीक्ष्य च यथामति ॥

प्रस्तावनेऽस्मिन् तात्पर्यमैतिहासिकवृत्तकं ।
कल्पितत्वान्नहं तस्माद् गूर्जरभूमिचित्रकम् ॥

गौरवं गूर्जरे देशे विवेकेऽसौ बृहस्पतिः ।
इति यस्याभवत् ख्यातिः स कथं चित्र्यते मया ॥

ख्यात्या तथैव किन्त्वस्मिञ्चापले प्रेरितोऽस्म्यहं ।
रेखास्खलनमत्र स्याद् वर्णिका शिथिला भवेत् ॥

प्रीयन्तां मयि विद्वांसः परीक्षणविचक्षणाः ।
यद्यत्र रुचिरं किंचिदापतेद् दृष्टिगोचरम् ॥

Critical Account of Manuscripts



The present edition of the Kāvyānuṣāsana comprises the Sūtras numbering 208, the Alamkārachūḍāmaṇi and the Viveka. It also includes a Saṃskṛta Ṭippaṇa gathered from the margins of the palm-leaf manuscript printed in the form of an appendix to the main text. The Sūtras and the Alaṃkārachūdāmaṇi form one work and are together referred to as Kāvyānuṣāsana, though strictly speaking, according to the colophons at the end of the manuscripts of the work, the Alaṃkārachūḍāmaṇi is a commentary on the Kāvyānuṣāsana and therefore the title Kāvyānuṣāsana should be taken to denote the Sūtras only. Viveka is a seperate work, though the name Kāvyānuṣāsana is sometimes loosely applied to it also. Hemachandra is the author of the Sūtras, the Alaṃkārachūdamaṇi—the explanatory commentary on them, and the Viveka—the exhaustive commentary on the Alaṃkārachūdamaṇi. The authorship of the Ṭippaṇa is unknown. Its contents are, probably, the notes of a student who took them down while studying the Kāvyānuṣāsana from some teacher of Poetics.

The text of the Kāvyānuṣāsana, that is, the Sūtras and the Alaṃkārachūdāmaṇi is based upon three manuscripts—one on palm-leaf and the other two on paper. They are described below.

1. P. The palm-leaf manuscript which is referred to in the text by the letter P is a manuscript from a Jaina manuscript library of Patan known as Tapāgaccha Bhaṇḍāra. It is six hundred years old, having

been written at Cambay in V. S. 1390 i. e. 1334 A. D. This P manuscript contains two works. Its first hundred and twenty-three leaves contain the Chhandonuṣāsana—a work of Hemachandra on metrics. The Kāvyānuṣāsana begins on the leaf No. 124B and ends on the leaf 252B. There is an additional leaf attached to this manuscript which gives some Prākṛata verses which are numbered from twenty-three to twenty-seven. It is probably a loose leaf of some Prākṛta work.

Leaves: 127;—one leaf being given there numbers 232, 233, 234.

Lines divided into two lengths of about 4″ and 7″.

Length : about 14½″. Width : about 2″.

Lines per page : about 5 to 6, rarely 4.

Letters per line : about 60 or 65. Writing-measure : about 11″ × 1″ to 1½″.

There are three margins-two on sides and one in the middle having a hole in it for a string to tie the manuscript with. On the a-page of a leaf there is a red thumb-mark on the middle margin and on the b-page there are three such marks on the three margins. The leaves are numbered on the b side, the left-hand margin giving the conventional letters to indicate the number and the right-hand margin giving the figures.[1]

The Ṭippaṇa is written on these margins as well as on the upper and lower spaces of leaves, as also, sometimes, in between the lines.

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1 For this and other interesting matter pertaining to old manuscripts see the Introduction to Sammatitarka Vol. V. edited by Pandita Sukhalal and Pandita Bechardas. See also Muni Punyavijayaji's article in the Jaina Chitra Kalpadruma edited and published by Mr. Sarabhai M. Navab, Ahmedabad.

Leaf 124A : Some letters are rubbed out.

Leaves 134B and 135A : ink has faded, consequently, many letters cannot be deciphered.

Leaf 172 : An oblong hole on the right-hand end of about 2″ length, not interferring with the writing; it must have been there before the leaf was written upon.

The leaves of the manuscript are on the whole in a good condition, though their right and left sides are slowly breaking; consequently, the Ṭippaṇa on those sides has suffered.

The manuscript begins : ॥ ꣸ ॥ अर्हँ ॥ प्रणम्य परमात्मानं etc., and ends : ॥ इत्याचार्य श्रीहेमचन्द्रविरचितायामलंकारचूडामणिसंज्ञस्वोपज्ञकाव्यानुशासन वृ. (252b) त्तौअष्टमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ श्लोकसंख्याग्रंथ २८०० ॥ छ ॥ सं. १३९० वर्षे चैत्र सुदि २ भौमे ॥ श्रीस्तंभतीर्थे लिखितमस्ति ॥ छ ॥ शुभंभवतु ॥ छ ॥ ६०३ ॥

2. I. This is a paper manuscript from the Bhandarkara Oriental Research Institute, Poona; it is therfore named I. It is more than five hundred years old being written in V. S. 1476 i. e. 1420 A. D.

Leaves : 117

Length about 11″; Width : about $4\frac{1}{2}$″.

Lines per page : about 11.

Letters per line : about 36.

Writing bold and clear. The margins of the last twenty leaves are soiled; consequently, the numbering of the leaves cannot be read distinctly.

I begins ॥ अर्हं ॥ प्रणम्य परमात्मानं etc.

Ends : अष्टमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः ॥ ॥ समाप्तेयमलंकारचूडामणिवृत्तिः कृतिरियं महाकविश्रीहेमचन्द्रसूरीणां ॥ ( ) ॥ ग्रंथाग्रं श्लोक संख्या

२७३२ ॥ भग्नपृष्टिकटिग्रीवावद्धमुष्टिरधोमुखं । कष्टेन लिखितं शास्त्रम् यत्नेन प्रतिपालयेत् ॥ संवत १४७६ वर्षे कार्तिक वदि सप्तमी । In red ink : साहश्रीवछाभार्या बाइ गुरुदे सुत साह सहिसकिरणेन भंडारे गृहीत्वा सुतशांतिदास परिपालनार्थं ॥ वः ॥

3. L. A paper manuscript from the Jaina Bhandāra of Limbdi in Kathiawad referred to in the text by the letter L.

Leaves : 68.

Length : $9\frac{3}{4}''$; Width : 4ड.

Lines per page : about 15.

Letters per line : about 45.

Begins as usual and ends अष्टमोऽध्यायः समाप्तः

The Viveka is based upon three paper manuscripts. All the three are from a Jaina manuscript Library at Patan known as Sanghano Bhaṇḍāra. They are referred to in the text by the letters A, B, and C. A and B are written in clear and beautiful handwriting and they generally agree in their readings. C is not written so well and often differs in its readings from A and B. The three manuscripts are described below.

4. A. This manuscript is more than three hundred years old—having been written in V. S. 1668 i. e. 1612 A. D.

Leaves : 85.

Length : 10″; Width : 4·4″.

Lines per page : about 15.

Letters per line : about 55.

On the margin of the leaf 56B a figure is drawn to illustrate the verse.

A begins on 1B with an auspicious mark, then comes ॥ अर्हं ॥ विवरीतुं क्वचिद्दृब्धं etc.

Ends इत्याचार्यश्री हेमचन्द्रविर [चि] ते विवेकेऽष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥ छ ॥

ग्रंथाग्र ४००० संवत् १६६८ वर्षे आषाढ वद ४ [ि]दने बारसीमे लक्षतं शुभं भवतु ॥ श्री कल्याणमस्तु ॥ छ ॥

5. B. This manuscript is also more than three hundred years old having been written in V. S. 1668 i. e. A. D. 1612 - a month before the last one.

Leaves : 84.

Length 10·4"; Width : 4·2".

Lines per page : about 15.

Letters per line : about 51.

Some leaves in this manuscript seem to be substitutes for the older ones which were, probably soiled. B. begins like A.

Ends इत्याचार्य श्री हेमचन्द्र विरचितेविवेकेऽष्टमोध्यायः समाप्तः ॥ छ ॥ ग्रन्थाग्रं ४००० संवत् १६६८ वर्षे ज [जे] ठ सूद २ शुक्रे ॥

On the margin of the leaf 84B, in a different hand-writing, is written the word काव्यानुशासनकथा ॥. Some scribe, not knowing what the Kāvyānuṣāsana was, thought it to be a kathā or a story.

6. C. This manuscript is not dated, but from its calligraphy seems to be older than A and B. Where A and B failed to give correct readings this manuscript proved very helpful.

Leaves : 79.

Length : 10"; Width : 4·4"

Lines per page : about 15.

Letters per line : about 56.

C. begins on the leaf 1B with auspicious marks. Then comes श्री गणेशाय नमः । श्री सारदायै नमः । श्री गुरुभ्यो नमः । ॥ अर्हं ॥ विवरीतुं क्वचिद्दब्धं etc.

Ends इत्याचार्य श्री हेमचन्द्रविरचिते विवेकेऽष्टमोध्यायःसमाप्तः ॥ छ ॥ ग्रन्थाग्रं श्लोकसहस्रचत्वारि ॥ अंके ४००० ॥ छ ॥ श्री ॥ छ ॥ श्री ॥ छ ॥ श्री ॥ छ ॥ श्री ॥ शुभं भवतुः । कल्याणं ॥

On the margin of 79B in the same handwriting अलंकारचूडामणि विवेको पत्र ७९.

7. N. This is the printed edition of the Kāvyānu ṣāsana with the Viveka, published by the Nirnaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, and referred to in the present text by the letter N. The readings of its Kāvyānuṣāsana portion mostly agree with I. Viveka in the N edition is so hopelessly incorrectly printed that at several places one can make nothing of the text.[1]

The Text

In preparing the text of the Sūtras and the Alaṃkārachūdāmaṇi P has been adopted as the basis and its defects and mistakes have been corrected with help of the I, the L, and at a few places with the help of N.

The text of the Viveka is not based upon any one manuscript, because none of the three is sufficiently correct in its readings to be adopted as the basis of the text. However, providentially enough, the three together have corrected one another and provided a tolerably good text. A comparison of the Viveka of the present edition with that of the Nirnaya Sāgara will bear out this remark.

Readings other than those adopted in the present text are noted in the foot-notes. The variants of the Kāvyānuṣāsana and the Viveka are numbered together consecutively. A careful persual of these

1 For other details about the manuscripts such as dropping of passages, change in the order of words, lacunae etc. see pp. 31, 34, 40, 50, 53, 54, 59, 60, 81, 96, 99, 129, 142, 156, 188, 202, 205, 260, 262, 265, 296, 302, 311, 313, 318, 321, 327, 356, 386, 404, 419, 431, 437, 466 etc. of the text.

variants will show that I have erred on the side of giving too many rather than too few. The reason is obvious: a scholar should be given as much material as possible in judging the correctness of the text and as much scope as possible in selecting his own readings. But such errors in readings as appeared unmistakably due to scribes' ignorance, or carelessness are not noted; for example, the dropping of anusvāra mark which is so usual, or the forgetting to put the top curve on long ई (see p. 4, f. n. 2), or the misplacing of refa (see p. 37. f. n. 3), or the misplacing of letters, or the changnig of order of words (p. 377) etc.[1]

In the selection of readings, as indicated above, those of P are generally given preference, though sometimes those of I which are noted in the footnotes seemed more correct (see p. 45 F. N. I for परार्थ and पदार्थ), because it is the oldest available manuscript of the Kāvyānuṣāsana. In the case of the Viveka when none of the three manuscripts gave a correct reading sometimes it had to be framed by putting the readings of A and B, and C together (see pp. 93 F. N. 3. धराधरान्तःस्थौ), or sometimes by changing the order of the letters; see for example, p. 154 where C giving मनसि, and A and B both giving मतसि, the reading adopted in the text is तमसि which was what the context required.

In addition to these six manuscripts and the Nirnaya Sāgar edition, printed editions of works which have been utilized or referred to in the Kāvyānuṣāsana and the Viveka have been consulted for the comparison of readings. The various readings of these have

1 See also pp. 56, 90, 269, 371, 426 etc.

been noted in the footnotes and some of them have, even, been adopted in the text. The Nāṭyaṣāstra of Bharata with the published portions of Abhinavagupta's commentary, the Kāvyādarṣa of Dandin, the Kāvya-Sutrālaṃkāra of Vāmana, the Kāvyamīmāṃsā of Rāja-ṣekhara, the Daṣarūpaka with the Avaloka of Dhanika and other works have proved very useful in the task of guessing correct readings.[1]

As will be apparent on a persual of the pages of the Samskṛta text, the Kāvyānuṣāsana and the Viveka are printed in different types, and the Viveka is printed below the Kāvyānūṣāsana. In the Kāvyānūṣāsana, the Sūtras are printed in black types. All of them are numbered. After the end of the first adhyāya the Sūtras have two numbers, the left-hand one indicating the continuous number while the right-hand one the number in the adhyāya. These have been noted at the head of every page; e. g. p. 128: [४५) अ. २ सू. १९. Here ४५ is the continuous number while १९ is the number of the Sūtra in the second adhyāya.

All the quotations are also numbered continuously. Those that come in as illustrations are numbered in Devanāgarī figures, while those that come in as authorities are numbered in Arabic ones. Quotations in the Viveka are also numbered in the same way though separately.

I have made an attempt to trace the quotations

1 See the footnotes on pp. 17, 27; 64 for the Vākyapadīya and its commentary; 81, 100, 108, 141, 169, 182, 184, 197, 275, 286; for the Manusmṛti 317; 335, for a Prākṛta verse of the Mudrārākshasa quoted in Samskṛta chhāyā in the text 354; 368, 411 etc,

to their original sources. In many cases, in this trying task, such works as the Subhāshitāvalī (B. S. S.), Kavīndravachanasamuchchaya, Saduktikarṇāmṛta and others have proved very helpful. Heart-felt thanks are due to their editors. At the end of every quotation a rectangular bracket is placed and the names of the works are entered therein. Empty brackets indicate that I did not succeed in tracing the original work up to the time of printing it. Some references were found later on and are given in the addenda. I hope that the empty brackets will be handy to scholars in entering the references whenever they are traced. In the first few forms I put the names of authors as given in the Subhāshitāvalī and other works, but later on gave up the practice as misleading and only mentioned the name Su. etc.

I have, wherever possible, looked into the original works and compared the quotations with the respective passages. This has, sometimes, shown discrepancies which may drive one to interesting conclusions. For example, refer to pp. 63-64. There Bhartṛhari is referred to by name, and the verses संसर्गोविप्रयोगश्च etc. are given. Of these the first verse is found in the Benaras S. S. edition of the Vākyapadīya but not the second सामर्थ्यमौचिती etc. A careful study of the commentary of Puṇyarāja on this verse, and that of the verse No. 316 itself which contains the words औच्त्यि, देश etc. in the light of the quotation of the Kāvyānuśāsana will give some interesting points for the text of the Vākyapadīya. Or refer to the page 89 where Daṇḍin is mentioned by name and a verse of his quoted; and study the footnote thereon. The verse as quoted in

2

the Kāvyānuṣāsana is not found in the Kāvyādarṣa but it can be gathered from two verses 281 – 282 of the second parichchheda of the K. D. Or study the footnotes on pp. 275 – 286 where Daṇḍin and Vāmana are often mentioned by name and compare the quotations with the original. In the case of Daṇḍin one is almost tempted to assume a Sūtra-work on Poetics different from the Kāvyādarṣa

Indexes

I have given seven indexes which are printed after the Kāvyānuṣāsana and the Viveka. The first one gives the alphabetical index of all the Saṃskṛta and Prākṛta illustrations – in verse and in prose – with the names of the works wherever found in rectangular brackets; the second one similarly gives all the authorities quoted; the third one Prākṛta verses separately with their Saṃskṛta translations; the fourth one gives all the Sūtras in the alphabetical order; the fifth one gives the names of works and authors mentioned by Hemachandra; while the sixth one gives those put in by the editor; the seventh one gives technical words, place - names and other important words, indicating only important references. In view of the fact that the Kāvyānuṣāsana – especially the Viveka – is a mine of information regarding Samskṛta Poetics, these indexes, particularly the last one, I hope, will be of some service to the students of Saṃskṛta Poetics and Poetry.

After these indexes is printed the appendix giving the Ṭippaṇa. In editing the Ṭippaṇa I have taken the liberty of emending the text at a few places.

II

Introduction to the History of Gujarat as a Back-ground to The Life & Times of Hemachandra

1

Hemachandra – the author of the Kāvyānuṣāsana – is a remarkable figure in the history of Samskṛta Literature and Learning, a conspicuous personality in the social and political history of Gujarāt and one of the greatest apostles of the Jaina Church. Like every other great man he was moulded by, as well as a moulder of, his times. He lived in an age when Gujarāt was reaching its zenith in all activities of life, in fact, in the glorious age of the history of Gujarāt. Politically, economically, and culturally Gujarāta was reaching its high watermark in the reigns of Siddharāja Jayasimha (V. S. 1150 – V. S. 1199), and Kumārpāla (V. S. 1199 – V. S. 1230) with both of whom he was in intimate contact. The intellectual and cultural life of the city of Aṇahilavāḍa Pattana was in the high tradition of Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayinī, Kānyakubja, Valabhi and Bhinnamāla. The fondness of its rulers and merchant – princes for raising architectural monuments had resulted in some of the finest temples at Aṇahilavāḍa Pattana, Moḍherā, Siddhapura, Somanātha, Arbudāchala (Mt. Abu) and many other places, and had created a whole class of master – builders who were in demand even in the South.* And these temples were not only

* See – Burgess : The Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat – pp. 21 – 22. See also, references from Maṇimekhalai: in The Beginning of South Indian History : p. 137. "There is mention of a temple of the most beautiful workmanship in the same city (Puhar) built by the Gurjjars."

sanctuaries of religion; they were sanctuaries of arts also. Through a contemporary description of the temple Kumāravihāra by Rāmachandra – a worthy pupil of Hemachandra, we get a glimpse of the arts of sculpture, painting, music, dancing and play – acting as they were being fostered in these temples. All this culture had behind it the munificence of its merchant – princes whose fabulous wealth was the fruit of their sea – faring adventures. The religious outlook of the age was one of admirable toleration though now and then enlivened by the priestly rivalries of different sects.

Such a development of the life of the people had behind it its peculiar cultural history of centuries. The culture of the city of Aṇāhilavāḍa and Gurjaradeṣa in the time of Hemachandra was not the result only of its own history of centuries. As the city and the kingdom governed from it developed, it directly inherited the accumulated cultural traditions of Bhinnamāla, Valabhi, and Girinagara and indirectly those of Kānyakubja, Ujjayinī and even of Pāṭaliputra. One may say, without any fear of serious contradiction, that though the rulers were changing and causing some political disturbances, the general cultural life of Gujarāta and Mālavā together was a matter of continuous growth. It may be noted that when, in history, Gujarāta and Mālavā did not form one political unit, they often waged bitter wars against each other, and as a result, were joined together.

So, to get a clear perspective of the age in which Hemachandra lived and of his relation to it, it will not be regarded as altogether out of place if I make an attempt to present a short survey of the history of Gujarat, keeping in view cultural points and links wherever possible.

2

The philological derivation of the word Gujarāt is still a matter of controversy.* It may, however, geographically be said to occupy 'the north-east corner of the Western India.' But for historical purposes it is necessary to define it in greater detail. Following the two great authorities on the history of Gujarāt The Bombay Gazeteer Vol. 1 (hereafter referred to as the B G.) and the Rāsamālā we may define its boundaries more exactly as follows: To the North of Gujarāt is Mārwād; 'to the north-east Ābu and other outliers of Aravali range. The east is guarded and limited by rough forest land rugged in the north with wide spurs of the Vindhyas, more open towards the central natural highway from Baroda to Rutlam, and southwards again rising and roughening into the northern off-shoots from the main range of the Sātpuḍās. The southern limit is uncertain. History somewhat doubtfully places it at the Tāpti. Language carries Gujarata about a hundred miles further to Balsār and Pārḍi where forest-covered hills from the north end of the Sahyadri range stretch west almost to the sea. The Gulf of Cambay and the Arabian Sea wash its southern and south-western shores. The Gulf of Cutch and a salt and sometimes innundated desert called the Raṇa are the boundaries to the west and north-west.'

"The least protected part of this frontier line, and that by which Gujarāta has usually been invaded," says the author of the Rāsamālā, "is on the north-west,

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* See the section on the Gurjaras. See also Divetia's **The Gujarati Language and Literature.** pp. 34 35.

where a sandy plain intervenes between the desert and the foot of Mount Ābu."

"The province includes two parts, Mainland Gujarāta or Gurjjararāshṭra and Peninsular Gujarāta the Saurāshṭra of ancient, the Kathiawar of modern history. To a total area of about 72,000 square miles Mainland Gujarāta with a length from north to south of about 280 miles and a breadth from east to west varying from 5o to 150 miles contributes 45,000 square miles; and Peninsular Gujarāta with a greatest length from north to south of 155 miles and from east to west of 200 miles contributes about 27,000 miles." (Bombay Gazetter Vol. 1; p. 1).

The use of the name of Gurjaratrā, Gujarāta or Gurjaradeṣa for this whole geographical portion is, comparatively, modern. As we shall see further on the word Gurjjara itself is found first in the Harshacharita of Bāṇa (seventh century A. D.). I shall discuss this point when we come to describe Bhinnamāla. I may be excused for the anachronism of using the name Gujarāta before it actually came into use. It must not, however, be supposed that this province had no important history before it was known as Gujarāta.

In ancient times, different parts of Gujarāta had their own names. The northern part the Mainland Gujarāta was known as Ānartta; the southern part as Lāṭa which is referred to in older Samskṛt literature as Aparānta; and the Peninsular Gujarāta was known as Saurāshṭra or Surāshṭra or Surāshṭrā. The boundaries of these districts were often changing, so it is not possible to delimit them exactly. In between Ānartta

and Lāṭa there was Ṣvabhra – the region round about the river Ṣvabhramatī or Sābarmatī. Kachchha (or Cutch) was known by this very name from ancient times. The region round about Ābu was known as Maru. So that '.........Ānartta – Surāshṭra – Ṣvabhra – Maru – Kachchha.........Aparānta.........' of the Girnar Rock Inscription of Rūdradāman of 150 A. D. practically gives us the whole of the present-day Gujarāta. Of these, references to Saurāshṭra and Āparānta in older Samskṛta literature are plenty.

References to the word Lāṭa in earlier literature are few. Lāṭas are mentioned, in the Anuṣāsanaparva of the Mahābhārata, among Kshatriya tribes. Lāṭas are also mentioned in Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra. Ptolemy (150 A. D.) refers to the province of Lāṭa by the form Larike, while the Gulf of Cambay was known as the sea of Lar, and Al Masudi (944 A. D.) calls it the Larwi sea (p. 510 the B. G.). Lāṭa is frequently mentioned in the incriptions and literature from the beginning of the fifth century* onward.

Mr. Altekar quotes a verse from the Mahābhārata which mentions Aparānta, the Paschima Samudra or the Western Sea and Prabhāsa where Arjuna made his pilgrimage. For Saurāshṭra or Surāshṭra, the B. G. Vol. I. p. 1 refers to the Mahābhārata and Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha. Mr. Altekar gives quotations from the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mārkaṇḍeya, the Kūrma and the Vishṇu Purāṇas, as well as from the Baudhāyana Sūtras, the grammer of Pāṇini and the Arthaṣāstra of Chāṇakya×

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* See for an interesting discussion of the origin of the word Lāṭa Mr. Ratnamaṇirao Jhote's History of Cambay.

× Mr. S N. Majmudar – Sastri in his notes to the Ancient

3

For the earliest history of India we have to rely upon the traditions preserved in the Purāṇas. These sacred books, after the critical sifting done by scholars like Pargiter, are now being properly regarded as mines of historical material. As Mr. Rapson says "The Purāṇas are confessedly partly legendary and partly historical.........The descriptions of ancient monarchs and their realms are essentially historical" (Cambridge History of India Vol. 1 page 299.).

Principal Anandsamkara Dhruva, in a learned and critical lecture which he delivered under the auspices of the Gujarāta Vernacular Society in the year 1924, shows the bearing of the Purāṇas on the early history of Gujarāta. Ānartta is the first province that comes to our view in the Purāṇic traditions. As noted by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji the Vishṇupurāṇa gives the longest account; the one given in the Bhāgavatapurāṇa agrees with it and the Matsyapurāṇa and the Harivamṣa also refer to it. Ṣaryāti a son of Manu Vaivasvata was given the south-west portion of India. Ānartta a son of Saryāti established a kingdom which according to the Purāṇas was known after him as Ānarttadeṣa. Principal Dhruva, however, suggests another derivation which accords with the history of the province. It is that this province was called Ānartta because it was inhabited by Dasyus who did not follow the Ṛta

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Geography of India by Cunningham refers Valabhi to Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha, while Mr. C. V. Vaidya refers Mahīnagara a city on the banks of the river Mahī also to the same source. It is, however, a question whether the references are by Pāṇini himself or are later additions.

– that is the cult of sacrifice – yajṇadharma – of the Brāhmaṇas, and therefore would be called Anṛtas – or Ānarttas by the northern Āryans. Ānarttapura which is an older name of Ānandapura (that is modern Vadnagara) might have been founded in these early times and become the first centre of Āryan religion and culture in this part of the country. Probably it was this city which kept the light of Vedic learning and culture burning throughout the later history of this province as is attested by the grants of the Valabhi kings and other successive rulers of Gujarāta. Even to-day the Vadanagarā Nāgara Brāhmaṇas or Nāgaras, as the aristocrats among them would call themselves, are known to maintain a certain standard of traditional Brahmaṇic culture.

Revata the successor of Ānartta made Kuṣasthalī or Dwārakā in Saurāshṭra his capital and from there governed the country called Ānartta. We thus find Ānartta and Surāshṭra joined together from very early times. As we shall see later on in the inscription of Rudradāman in the phrase 'Ānartta – Surāshṭrāṇām' the provinces were looked upon as connected with each other.

This Revata had a son who was called Raivata. He or more probably one of his descendants who was called Raivata Kakudmi was attacked by the Yādavas from the sea who ultimately became the rulers of Saurāshṭra.

The descendants of Revata would be known according to an usage of the Samskṛta language as Raivatas *

* One of the older names of the mount Girnāra is Raivataka which is described under that name by the great poet Māgha of Bhinnamāla in his Śiśupālavadha canto IV.

3

One of these who was known as Raivata Kakudmi had a daughter named Revatī who was married to Baladeva–the elder brother of Śrī Kṛshṇa. The love of Revatī and Baladeva is immortalised by Kālidāsa in the beautiful phrase–'Revatī-lochanānkām' of the Meghadūta. This Raivata, according to the Purāṇas, had lost his kingdom before he married his daughter to Baladeva. This may mean that one of the Raivatas was attacked by the Yādavas, probably from the sea, who ultimately usurped the kingdom of the Raivatas but legalised their position by marrying one of them to a princess of the royal family that preceded them.

The Raivatas being descended from Manu Vaivasvata or Manu–the son of the Sun–would naturally be regarded as of the Solar race. Pargiter regards the Solar race as originally non-Aryan, while the Lunar race as Aryan. Principal Dhruva, rightly, points out that this view is altogether imaginary and has no basis in tradition and is contradicted by the oneness of the culture of the Solar and the Lunar races.

The Yādavas were the descendants of Yadu, and essentially Āryan in their blood. Aila Purūravas, who was supposed to be descended from the Moon (and who is the hero of the famous play of Kālidāsa—Vikramorvaśīya), had a son named Āyu who married a daughter of the Dānava Svarbhānu-a non-Āryan. Thus the Yādavas had an admixture of Drāvidian blood in them.

One branch of the Yadu-family, separate from the main Yādavas, was known as Haihaya. The famous hero Sahasrārjuna Kārtavīrya belonged to this race. He conquered the city of Māhishmatī on the banks of the

Narmadā from Karkoṭaka Nāga. He was a powerful king who defeated even Rāvaṇa of Lankā. He was a disciple of the famous sage Dattātreya, and is reported to have performed ten thousand sacrifices. According to the Purāṇic tradition Kārtavīrya and the whole clan of Haibayas * were killed by Paraṣurāma the son of Bhṛgu.

The modern city of Broach whose Saṃskṛta equivalent is Bhṛgu–kachchha which literally means the coast of Bhṛgus, bears the imprint of Bhṛgus at least in its name. × The society formed for research into the Narmadā valley will, let us hope, throw more light on the early history of this part of Gujarāt.

Purāṇas give a detailed account of the different Yādava families which are also constantly mentioned in Jaina literature. The principal families were those of Vṛshṇi, Kukkura, Bhoja, Sātvata, Andhaka, Madhu, Surasena, and Daṣārha. In the family of Sātvata who was thirty–seventh from Yadu, Ṣrī Kṛshṇa was born. It was in his time that Yādavas had to leave Mathurā on the Yamunā. They subsequently settled in Saurāshṭra and established themselves as its rulers, probably supplanting the Raivatas.

Ugrasena was a leading Yādava chief who had the co-operation of the families of Yadu, Bhoja and Andhaka. His principal seat was either at Dwārakā or at Raivatanagara or Ugrasenapura, that is, modern Junāgadh. Ṣri Kṛshṇa and Baladeva were very influential

* According to a verse in the Prabandhachintāmaṇi Chāvaḍas belonged to the Haihaya dynasty. See the section on Chāvaḍas.

× Buddhists give a different explanation. See S. N. Majumdar's edition of Cunningham's Ancient Geography.

persons. They were related to the Pāṇḍavas through their paternal aunt. Arjuna looked upon Śri Kṛshṇa as his guide, friend and philosopher. The coming of Arjuna to Aparānta, and the right royal reception that Kṛshṇa and other Yādavas gave him is described in the Mahābhārata Ādiparvan–chapters 218–221. The romance of Subhadrā and Arjuna—their falling in love at a festival and their subsequent marriage in Girnār is beautifully described in the same work. According to the author of the B. G. "The large fair still held in the west Girnār valley near the modern temple of Bhavanātha is perhaps a relic of this great Yādava fair." (p. 10).

When Śrī Kṛshṇa had gone to Indraprastha to attend the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhisṭhira, where he subsequently killed Śiśupāla – the king of Chedis, Dwārakā was attacked by Śālva–the king of Mṛttikāvatī in the country of Śvabhra, that is, the region about the river Sābaramatī–the present-day Sābarakānṭhā. When Śrī Kṛshṇa returned, he met Śālva in battle near the seashore and defeated him and killed him.

The going of Śri Kṛshṇa to Indraprastha and the killing of Śiśupāla forms the subject–matter of the Śiśupālavadha, the Mahākāvya of Māgha–a poet of Śrīmāla or Bhinnamāla one of the ancient capitals of Gujarat. The romance of Subhadrā and Arjuna is the subject–matter of the Naranārāyaṇānanda the Mahākāvya of the minister Vastupāla.

Thirty–six years after the war of Kurukshetra the glory of the Yādavas was extinguished. The principal cause was the family feud, the excessive addiction to

drinking unbalancing the clan-mind already excited by other causes.

Here I may mention the Jaina tradition about Arishṭanemi who became the twenty-second Tīrthaṁkara, as preserved in the twenty-second adhyayana of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra-a canonical work of the Ṣvetāmbara Jainas. It mentions two Yādava kings Vasudeva and Samudravijaya who are evidently brothers, in the city of Soriyapura (a place near Mathurā). Vasudeva had two queens Rohiṇī and Devakī whose sons were Rāma and Keṣava respectively. Samudravijaya had a queen named Ṣivā whose son was Arishṭanemi. Samudravijaya had another son Rathanemi or Raṭhanemi after whom this adhyayana or chapter is named. (The commentators refer to the intervening events,-the fleeing away from Soriyapura and the coming to Dwārakā of these Yādavas who are mentioned as belonging to the Andhakavṛshnī family.) When Arishṭanemi becomes of age Keṣava asks for Arisṭanemi the hand of the beautiful damsel Rāymatī-or Rājamatī who calls herself the daughter of Bhojarāja (according to the commentators Ugrasena a Yadava prince who was ruling in Junāgaḍha). The match is settled, and as the marriage procession, with Arishṭanemi on the best elephant-gandhahastin-of Vāsudeva (evidently of Sri Kṛshṇa) is proceeding to the house of the bride's father, Arishṭanemi discovers the pitiable conditions of the animals which are penned in pounds and cages and which are to be slaughtered far his marriage-feast. His heart is filled with emotion and he thinks of renouncing the world which he does ultimately without marrying Rājamatī. Rājamatī, on

hearing this, being filled with grief, renounces the world also and becomes a nun. As she is proceeding to Raivataka mountain for practicing penance she has to stop on the way on account of heavy rains. As she is drying her nun's garments she is caught sight of by Rathanemi the brother of Arishṭanemi who was also practising penance in the jungle. He is enamoured of her beauty and requests her to be his wife. Rājamatī peremptorily refuses his demand and reminds him of his high and noble traditions, of their respective families and advises him to be of a steady mind and not to go after every woman that he meets and consequently lose the merits of his penance. Rathanemi is cured of his infatuation. (To describe this purification is the purpose of narrating this episode in the 22nd chapter of the Uttarādhyayana)

4

Leaving the Purāṇic traditions, we come to the more authentic period of inscriptions, coins, references of foreigners, and semi-historical literary accounts of the Jainas and others. Before we discuss this, a few words may be said about the maritime activity of Gujarat. As a glance at the map of India will show Gujarat has a goodly part of sea-coast to its credit. In fact the main part of Gujarat is scarcely a hundred miles away from the sea-coast. Naturally, the people living in Ānartta, Saurāshṭra, and Lāṭa were more sea-faring than the people living in the interior of India. We find history corroborating this. Mr. Hewitt would carry the history of the sea-borne commerce of Gujarat to 3000-6000 B. C. Mr. Jackson in the B. G. Appendix IV in a footnote (p. 492) summarises

'the available evidence of Gujarat Hindu enterprise by sea', which gives a good idea of the maritime activity of Gujarat in the last two thousand years.

In fact the main cause of the fabulous wealth of Gujarat was not so much the fertility of its land, as the commercial enterprise of her people. Yuan Chang has noted this in case of Bharucha and Valabhi and we find the author of Nābhinandanoddhāraprabandha saying in so many words that all people risiding in Gujarat make lot of money with little effort on its many sea-coasts.

यस्मिन्वासी जनः सर्वो वेलाकूलेषु भूरिषु ।
व्यवसाये कृतेऽल्पेऽपि निःसीमश्रियमश्नुते ॥ ना. प्र. प्रस्ताव २, श्लो. ४८.

In this connection, mention may be made of the colonising activity of Gujarat.

It appears, from the traditions preserved in the Mahāvaṃṣa and the Dīpavaṃṣa, that Ceylon owes its name Siṃhaladvīpa, its language Siṃhalese and its aryanisation to a prince named Vijaya the son of the king Simhabāhu who reigned at Simhapura in Lāḷa or Lāṭa-a name by which Gujarat was often referred to by foreigners. According to Dr. L. D. Barnett, the Aryan immigration started from Sīhapura in Lāṭa (possibly the modern Sihor, in Kathiawar) and Sopārā. The latter band belonged to the Simhalas (Sīhalas) or 'Lion-tribe' and it was probably they who imposed their Aryan tongue on Ceylon. 'The landing of Vijaya is made to coincide with the decease of Gāutama Buddha in 483 B. C.' (Cambridge History of India Vo. I pp. 605-607]. *

* Mr. Ratnamaṇirao Jhote in an illuminating article on the 'Shipping of Gujarat' has very ably controverted the view of Prof. Radhakumud that Prince Vijaya started from

Colonisation of Jāvā, by a prince of Gujarāt, which took place, according to the Javanese tradition in the beginning of the seventh century A. D. may, also, be mentioned here. According to Mr. Jackson this is an incident which "redeems the early history of Gujarāt from provincial narrowness and raises its ruling tribes to a place among the greater conquerors and colonisers. This incident is the tradition that during the sixth and seventh centuries fleets from the coasts of Sindh and Gujarāta formed settlements in Jāvā and in Cambodia. The Jāvā legend is that about 603 A. D. Hindus led by Bhrūvijaya Savelāchala the son of Kasamachitra or Balya Acha king of Kujrāt or Gujarāta settled on the west coast of the island" (p. 489). Discussing the probability of this incident Mr. Jackson says "During the last two thousand years the record of the Gujarāta coast shows a genius for seafaring fit to ensure the successful planting of north-west India in the Malay Archipelago." (p. 492).

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the coast of Bengal. One convincing argument against Prof. Radhakumud's viewis provided by the account of the voyage which makes Vijaya stop at the port of Sopara near Bombay. This would be quite natural if he started from some port on the Gulf of Cambay but very absurd if he sailed from some port on the Bay of Bengal. The connection of Gujarat and Ceylon is suggested in many folk-stories and sayings in Gujarati and also in a Jaina work called Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa, in which a temple at Bharucha known as Ṣakunikāvihāra is said to be built by a Simhali princess. For a different view see Mr. Sengar's article in the Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. III, pp. 403-8, 1927. Mr. Sengar's theory is that Prince Vijaya belonged to the Sengar clan of Rajputs and that his original home was Rāḍha North East India.

From the end of the Yādava supremacy in Saurāshṭra to the rise of the Mauryan empire, there is a blank in our knowledge of the history of Gujarāt. Possibly Yaudheyas × Ābhiras, and such other tribes were contending for supremacy. Yādavas were also there. But we do not know of any definite event unless we accept the historicity of Prince Vijaya embarking from the coast of Lāṭa and conquering the island afterwards known as Siṃhaladvīpa and establishing an Āryan kingdom there. This, as we have seen before, coincides with the death of Gautama Buddha. This takes us to the 5th century B. C..

5

The earliest monuments of history that we have as yet discovered in Gujarāt are those on a rock in the mountains of Girināra. This conic granite about twelve feet high from the ground and having a circumference of about 75 feet in its lower part is situated on a narrow path leading to a valley, a mile to the east of the city of Junāgaḍha in Kathiawar. It has three documents of the first class historical importance inscribed on it. As a monument of history its importance can scarcely be exaggerated. In fact it is unique for the history of India. It bears side by side inscriptions of the three kings – greatest in the history of India: Asoka, Rudradāman and Skandagupta. This is the only monument which in the inscription of Rudradāman contains, according to Vincent Smith, 'the only known epigraphic record containing the names of Chandragupta and Asoka Maurya' (E. H. I. p. 133).

× For information regarding the coins of Yaudheyas, their democratic constitution, etc. see the B. G. pp. 19 and 36, 37.

4

The oldest record on this rock is the 'Dhammalipi' of Aṣoka giving his code of fourteen regulations in the Prākṛta language. The second commemorates the repairs done by Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman to the lake Sudarṣana (meaning 'good to look at'), constructed by Pushyagupta – the governor of Gujarāt appointed by Chandragupta Maurya, which had become 'durdarṣana' ('not good to look at'), the dam having crashed on account of the huge floods of Girnar rivers. The third commemorates a similar event three centuries later,– the floods having again damaged the lake, the repairs this time being done by Skandagupta of the Gupta dynasty.

These three inscriptions – of Aṣoka, Rudradāman and Skandagupta–carry us respectively to the periods 274 – 237 B. C. (C. H. I Vol. I p. 698), 150 A. D. and 456 A. D. (E. H. I. 3rd. edition). Thus we find that we are given a glimpse in the past history by the inscription of Rudradāman, which discovers Gujarāt to be a province of Chandragupta Maurya (274–237 B. C.). Girinagara was then probably the provincial capital; while 'the southern capital of the Mauryas seems to have been Sopārā' (the B. G. p. 14). The governor of the province was one Pushyagupta. He belonged to the Vaiṣya caste and probably was a brother of one Chandragupta's queens. He, it was, who first built the Lake Sudarṣana or the Lake Beautiful, near the city of Girinagara, probably at the foot of the mountain Ūrjayat – as Girnar was then known. It was primarily meant for irrigation purposes. Being a 'Jalāṣaya' or an 'abode of waters' it must have become a sacred place; as all such places generally become in India. This Lake Beautiful must also have been a place of

recreation and diversion to the citizens of Girinagara, and the pilgrims from the rest of India. It is worthwhile emphasizing this point; for it was a regular feature of the ancient civic life of this land. The tradition of having a large and beautiful lake near a city for irrigational, religious and recreative purposes was maintained in Gujarāt through the munificence of its kings and merchant-princes who thought it an act of religious merit to construct such 'abodes of waters'; and one may say, in the Lake Siddhasaras or Sahasralinga of Siddharāja Jayasimha, near Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa, the tradition was revealed in its most magnificent and beautiful form.

The following remarks of Vincent Smith gives a good idea of the irrigation works in the time of Chandragupta Maurya:—

"The proper regulation of irrigation is a matter of prime importance in India; and it is much to the credit of Chandragupta that he maintained a special Irrigation Department charged with the duty of measuring the lands and so regulating the sluices that every one should receive his fair share of the life-giving water. The allusion to the measurement of lands as part of the duty of the Irrigation Department indicates that a water-rate must have been levied, and the reference to sluices implies a regular system of canals.

The inscription of Satrap Rudradāman,............bears direct testimony to the care bestowed by the central government upon the question of irrigation, even in the most remote provinces. Although Girnar is situated close to the Arabian Sea, at a distance of at least 1,000 miles from the Maurya capital, the needs of the local farmers did not escape the imperial notice." (E. H. I. p. 132)

The Arthaṣāstra, whose authorship is attributed to Vishṇugupta Chāṇakya – the prime minister of Chandragupta Maurya, throws some side – light on Surāshṭra and Aparānta in the time of Mauryas. In those days, we learn from it, there were Ṣreṇīs – guilds – of Kshatriyas and others in Surāshṭra and Kāmbhoja who followed the profession of 'Vārttā' that is agriculture, breeding of cattle, and commerce, and 'Ṣastra' that is arms. This description of the war – like tribes of Kathiawar agrees well with their historical profession almost to the end of the 19th century. This may also very well refer to the Yādavas, Yaudheyas, Ābhiras etc. who must have been then in possession of Surāshṭra.

Elephants were a very important part of the army in Ancient India. In fact, according to the Arthaṣāstra – 'the successes of the kings principally depended upon the elephants.' In this context we find that elephants from Aparānta or west coast were of middle size, while the Saurāshṭra elephants were of smaller size.

When discussing the question of the amount of rain necessary for good crops in different parts of India the Arthaṣāstra says 23 droṇas–(rain was measured by a droṇa) – are necessary for Avanti, but for Aparānta the amount is 'amita', that is, unmeasured or unknown.

When giving information on the best variety of cotton, the Arthaṣāstra mentions Aparānta cotton next to Madhurā cotton, that is, Madurā cotton. Broach cotton is still famous and rates of cotton in Indian markets are quoted even to – day in terms of Broach.

After Chandragupta Maurya comes the Great Asoka. In his time also Gujarat was a province of the Maurya empire, and Girinagara continued to be the capital. On behalf of Asoka, the inscription of Rudradāman tells us, his governor Yavanarāja Tushasfa, who in spite of the title Yavanarāja is regarded as a Persian by scholars on account of his name, 'adorned the lake with the supplementary channels in a right royal style.'

The most important event of Gujarāt history of this period, however, is the inscribing of the 'Dhammalipi' of Asoka, on the rock of the mountain Ūrjayat or Girnāra referred to in the beginning of this section. The civilizing influence of this royal edict cannot be exaggerated. It inculcated the very essence of Aryadharma – of Aryan civilization as it developed in India – a fusion, no doubt, of many influences.

The first edict gives the injunction to abstain from taking life either for sacrificial offerings or for sport. And the emperor himself sets an example by cutting down the slaughter of thousands of animals for the royal kitchen to three animals, and in future even stopping this.

The second edict describes the provision for medical treatment of human beings and animals, planting of medicinal plants, and the building of wells and planting of trees on roads for the benefit of human beings and animals. The third refers to the appointment of officers who will travel in the different parts of the empire to see that the people practice the 'dharma', and that the people regard it as good to attend to their parents properly, to treat hospitably

friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brāhmaṇas and Ṣramaṇas, to abstain from taking life and not to be extravagant and not to be hoarding. The fourth describes what was the state of affairs in these matters formerly, what this Beloved of gods has done and what his successor will abide by. The fifth edict has also similar import. The sixth one proclaims his ever – readiness for doing good to the people and his easy approachability to his subjects. The seventh shows that mere giving of money in charity is nothing without self – restraint, purity of heart, feeling of gratitude and firm devotion. The eigth edict tells that formerly kings used to go out for hunting but that now the Beloved of gods travels for 'dharma,' to pay his respects and give gifts to Brāhmaṇas, Ṣramaṇas and the elders, to see people in villages and discuss matters of 'dharma' with them.

The ninth edict asks women to abstain from frivolous and meaningless ceremonies, to treat properly their servants, to honour the elders, to behave with restraint towards animals and to give gifts to Brāhmaṇas and Ṣramaṇas. Fathers, brothers, and husbands are asked to instruct their women – folk accordingly. The tenth and the eleventh edicts insist upon dharma.

The twelfth edict advises toleration of all sects and respect for all religions. People are asked to practise restraint of speech in praising their sects and *finding fault with those of others. This particular edict* is the most noteworthy and gives us an idea of the liberal culture of the emperor.

The thirteenth edict which on the Girnār rock is

much mutilated insists upon the practice of essentials of all religions. The fourteenth refers to the form of dhammalipis.

This brief summary would help our imagination to realise how it must have affected the very depths of the springs of human action. There can be no record of the results of such mental processes – either in individuals or groups. But that its effect must have been immense admits of no doubt. Two tendencies to be observed in the mass of Gujarāt people through their history – one feeling a sort of repulsion to killing animals, and the other feeling no particular antipathy towards people of different religious persuasions – owe their development not a little to this influence. The sentiment of Ahimsā – non-violence – towards animals was no doubt fostered by the Jaina influence, and the attitude of toleration must have proved a very useful equipment of mind to a commercial people.

Gujarāt had another emperor of Aṣoka's type in Kūmārapāla (12 cen. A. D.) who used his royal influence to spread dharma.

Immediate succession after Aṣoka is not definitely known. The inscriptions of the cave at the Bara'ber hill near Gayā and at the Nāgārjuna hill bear testimony to the succession of Daṣaratha – probably a grandson. The caves are dedicated to the Ājīvaka sect. Another successor of Aṣoka was Samprati. Though there is no epigraphic evidence of his existence * he is mentioned in the Brāhmaṇic, Buddhist and Jaina traditions. According to the Jaina tradition he was converted to Jainism by the Sthavira Suhastin, and was a builder of

* Mr. Jayswal identifies some coins as those of Samprati.

innumerable temples – so much so that a newly discovered Jaina idol or an old Jaina temple whose builder is unknown is attributed to him. He is specially mentioned as a king of Ujjayinī ruling Western India, and one who had propagated Jaina faith even in Anārya countries. Considering the fact that Jainism found a strong foot – hold in Western India and Gujarāt the tradition should be regarded as embodying historical reality. Samprati's reign probably ended by about 197 B. C. – if we accept 237 – 36 B. C. as the year of Aṣoka's death and accept 40 years' interval as given by the Purāṇas.

6

From about 180 B. C. to 100 B. C. we find traces of Bactrian – Greek sway in Saurāshṭra and Kachchha. Our main sources of information are the Bactrian – Greek coins found in Kathiawar and some references in Greek and Roman writers. Of these Bactrian – Greek rulers the most noteworthy is Menander. We find a helmated bust of this king with a Greek legend round it on the obverse of his coins, while on the reverse we find a figure of Athene Promachos with the Bactro – Pali legend ' Mahārājasa Tradatasa Menandrasa.' The reference to camps, temples and wells by the author of the Periplus as those of Alexander is incorrect. The camps, temples and wells must have been those of Menander. He is the Milinda of the Milindapanhā – a Pali treatise in the form of a dialogue on the Buddhist philosophy. The dialogue is between Milinda and Nāgasena who solves his questions and converts his royal antagonist to Buddhism.

The last Bactrian - Greek ruler that we know of was Apolodotus whose coins have the legend in Bactro-Pali characters : 'Mahārājasa Tradatasa Apaladatasa.' After Apollodotus, to the end of the first century A. D., there is a blank in our knowledge of the history of Gujarāt.

7

On the strength of the information derived from a great number of coins mainly discovered and interpreted by Dr. Bhagawanlal Indraji, a few inscriptions, and references from foreign writers, we are again able to construct the history of Gujarāta for three centuries and more. This is the period known as the Kshatrapa period. The coins and inscriptions are now proved to have been dated in the era which starts from the beginning of Kanishka's reign in 78 A. D. As Prof. Rapson says these coins and inscriptions " range from the year 41 to the year 310 (119-388 A. D.) and form the most continuous and complete chronological series found on the monuments of ancient India. It was in consequence of its long use by the Ṣaka princes of Western India that the era became generally known in India as the Ṣaka era..." (C. H. I. Vol. I p. 585.).

Amongst the Kshatrapas, we have to distinguish between two dynasties - the Kshaharātas and the line of Chashṭana. The word Kshatrapa appears under three forms Chhatrapa, * Chhatrava and Khatapa, while Kshaharāta appears under the form Chhaharāta in Prākṛta legends on the coins. Acording to Mr. Jackson

* May not the title Chhatrapati be a sanskritization of this word ?

" Kshatrapa was originally a Persian title adopted by the Greeks and continued in use among their successors; it originally denoted a provincial governor; but when the Greek kingdom broke up and their provincial chiefs became independent, it continued in use as a royal title. " (B. G. p. 22.)

Nahapāna was the first Kshatrapa ruler of Gujarāt and Saurāshṭra. He belonged to Kharosṭhi family. It is not certain whether he made his conquests as a general of Kanishka or independently on his own account. His advance is traced as lying ' through East Rajputānā by Mandasor in West Mālwā along the easy route to Dohad as far as South Gujarāt. From South Gujarāt his power spread in two directions by sea to Kathiawad and from near Balsar by the Dang passes to Nasik and the Deccan, over almost the whole of which, judging from coins and inscriptions, he supplanted as overlord the great Āndhra kings of the Deccan " (B. G. p. 24). It is not known whether Nahapāna was also ruling over Ujjain and East Malwa and north Gujarāt also. According to Vincent Smith his capital might have been at Nasik, though there is no definite information on the point.

The Bactro - Greek legend on the three of the four coins found by Dr. Bhagawanalal Indraji is Raño Chhaharātas Nahapānasa, on the fourth is simply ' Raño Chhaharātas. The Nāgari legend on all the four is Raño Kshaharātas Nahapānasa '. On the obverse of the coins there is a bust, presumably, of Nahapāna. Of the four coins one gives the youthful image, one old, and the remaining two represent intervening stages of life. " The dress of the bust is in the style of the

overdress of Nahapāna's time. The bust, facing the right, wears a flat grooved cap and has the hair combed in ringlets falling half – down the ear. The neck shows the collar of the coat." (B. G. p. 24).

In addition to Nahapāna's coins there are, at Nasik and Karla, the inscriptions of Uṣāvadāta – his son-in-law and at Junnar, of Ayama – his minister which give us valuable information about him. His title of Kshatrapa which is not found in his coins is mentioned in Uṣāvadāta's inscriptions in which he is called Ksharāta Kshatrapa Nahapāna. We find the charitable acts of Uṣāvadāta described in some of these inscriptions. Those that pertain to Gujarāt are – the building of 'riverside steps at the Barṇāsa or Banās river near Mount Abu'; the giving away in marriage, which included the expenses of the ceremony, of eight Brāhmaṇa brides, at Prabhāsa in Saurāshṭra; the building of rest – houses and alms – houses at Broach; of waiting–places and steps on both the banks of the Tāpti and other rivers and also the providing of free ferries to cross them, etc.

According to the B. G., Nahapāna on his conquest of Gujarāt and West Deccan founded the era which is known as the Ṣaka era and which corresponds to 78 A. D.. On the subsequent coins and inscriptions of Kshatrapas, it is according to this era, that the years are given.

Nahapāna had no son. He was succeeded, probably, by his son-in-law Uṣāvadāta. Soon after, however, the Kshaharāta satraps were destroyed by Gautamīputra Ṣātakarni – an Andhra king. His inscription at Nasik mentions Surāshṭra and Aparānta as parts of his

dominion. This event is dated by the B. G. in 138 A. D. but in or about 126 A. D. by Vincent Smith.

In the meanwhile another Kshatrapa comes on the stage. His name was Chashṭana. He soon wins back the portions of Gujarāt taken by Gautamīputra.

The family of this Kshatrapa is not connected in any way with Kshaharāta Nahapāna. Some of Chashṭana's coins bear the legend Rajño Kshatrapasa Ysmotikaputrasa Chashṭanasa, while others bear ' Rajño Mahākshatrapasa Ysmotikaputrasa Chashṭanas. We gather from this that his father's name was Ysmotika or Zamotika which appears to be a foreign word. His father must have been an ordinary man as no title is prefixed to his name. Another thing that we understand from the legends is that in the beginning Chashṭana was only a Kshatrapa and later on became a Mahākshatrapa. When he was a simple Kshatrapa his dominion must have extended only to Malwa and North Gujarāt. He is identified with Tiastanes of Ptolemy who gives Ozene or Ujjayinī as his capital. He must have called himself Mahākshatrapa after winning back Saurāshṭra and Aparānta from the Andhra kings.

Chashṭana became the founder of a great dynasty and had at least twentyfive or twentysix successors. His name is mentioned in the inscriptions of some of his successors.

We may imagine his appearance from the busts on his coins. " He wears a moustache, the cap is not grooved but plain, and the hair which reaches the neck is longer than Nahapāna's hair. " In one of his coins the hair seems dressed in ringlets.

His coins have the symbol of the sun and the crescent moon.

Chashṭana was succeeded by Jayadāman who calls himself only a Kshatrapa in his coins which are very rare. Barring the names of Chashṭana and Ysamotika which sound foreign, the names of the rest of the Kshtrapas are purely Indian. ×

Jayadāman was succeded by Rudradāman. He was, to judge from what we know, the greatest of the Kshatrapas and one of the greatest kings that ruled over Gujarāt. " His beautiful silver coins, in style much like those of Chastana, are frequently found in Kathiawada. On the obverse is his bust in the same style of dress as Chastana's " (B. G. p. 34). The coins bear the following legend in Nāgarī characters : 'Rajno Kshtrapasa Jayadāmaputrasa Rajno Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmasa.'

We had occasion to refer to his famous inscription on the Girnār rock. It gives us details which testify to his greatness as a powerful, cultured and benevolent ruler. His reign, in all likelihood, seems to have lasted for more then forty years. * He himself earned the

× Dāmājaḍaṣrī also appears foreign.

* Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji supposed the beginning of the reign of Rudradāman to be in the year 65 and the end of his reign in the year 80. Mr. Jackson carries his reign upto 95 in order to give him atleast 30 years' reign Only one date — that of the year 72 of the rock inscription was known to them. But four other inscriptions of Rudradāman's reign found later, mention the year 52. This in itself gives 20 years' reign to Rudradāman. The abundance of his coins and the scarcity of the coins of his on and grand-son make Mr. Jackson give

title of Mahākshatrapa, which was enjoyed by his grand – father but not by his father who was only a Kshatrapa. Through his own prowess he had become the lord of Akara – Avanti, Anūpa, Ānartta, Surāshṭra, Ṣvabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sindh – Sauvīra, Kakura, Aparānta, Niṣāda etc. with all their former cities, business towns, and villages; that is, roughly, of the 'country from Bhilsā in the east to Sindh in the west, and from Mount Ābu in the north to the North Konkan in the south including the peninsulas of Kathiawad and Cutch' – in short of Western India. He had humbled the pride of Yaudheyas who had become puffed because they were called Vīra – Valorous – by all Kshatriyas. He had twice defeated Ṣātakarni the lord of Dakshiṇāpatha, but, because he was a near relative (a son–in–law), he was not uprooted. This consideration earned for him public appreciation. He was famed for his mastery in the science and art of Ṣabda–Language, Artha–Politics, Gāndharava–Music and Dancing, and Nyāya–Logic. So also was he proficient in the manly and military arts of riding and managing horṣes elephants and chariots, of duelling, of fencing with the sword and the like. He was a master of

Rudradāman a reign of 30 years. According to our new calculation it would take Rudradāman's reign upto the year 82, that is, 160 A. D. One coin of his grand–son bears the year 100—the earliest date found on Kshatrapa coins – that is, the year 178 A. D. How many years should be allowed to his son Dāmājaḍaṣrī is a question; but 28 years' reign appears to be too long for him. If we allow him only five years, as Mr. Jackson does, his reign will extend to the year 95, that is, 173 A. D. This would give in all 43 years' reign to Rudradāman. There is nothing improbable in such a supposition.

fine speech in prose as in verse. His body was strong and proportionate; he had a fine figure. He was chosen in marriage by many princesses.

All the Varṇas-castes or communities-approached him and elected him as their king for his merits. He made cities, business-places and villages safe from robbers, beasts of prey, wild animals and disease. He had vowed not to kill men except equal foes met in battle.

The inscription gives a graphic picture of the rain-storm and the floods in the Suvarṇa-sikatā, the Palāṣinī and other rivers of the mountain Ūrjayat and the havoc they had worked with the lake. 'The rains had made the whole earth one sea of waters. The dam was broken by the velocity of the floods. The wind had toppled down the peaks of the mountain, uprooted the trees, and destroyed the banks, aṭṭālaka (top-rooms on fortifications), upatalpa (upper-story), dvāra(entrances'), and ṣaraṇa (chambers). It was, as if, the wind of the day of destruction. The flowing away of all the water made the Lake Sudarṣana appear as if it were a sandy desert-painful to look at. There was left a gaping chasm 420 Hastas in length and 420 in breadth and 75 Hastas deep.

'The task of re-building a lake with such a huge chasm was staggering. His ministers and officers had not the energy to face it. So they advised the Mahākshtrapa to leave it alone. When the people saw that the dam was not to be re-built they raised a hue and a cry. One minister-Suviṣākha the Pahlava - son of Kulaipa who was appointed at that place the governor of Ānartta-Saurāshṭra by the king undertook to execute the task for the benefit of the city and

the village. The new dam was thrice as strong and thrice as long and wide as the old one. Huge amounts of money were spent after the work. But the people were not harassed with new taxes or forced labour. The whole work was finished promptly and the lake Sudarṣana – that is, beautiful–was made Sudarṣanatara more beautiful.' ×

Suviṣākha – the Pahlava deserves notice. He is described as an ideal officer in the inscription. He must be a Persian settled in Gujarat. According to the B. G. " This trade connection between the Persian Gulf and the Western Sea-board must have led to the settlement from very early times of the Pahlavas who gradually became converted to Buddhism, and like the Pārasis their modern enterprising representatives, seem to have advanced in trade and practical influence " (P. 35).

The incriptions from Cutch of the year 52, that is, 130 A. D. enable us to infer the spread of Buddhism in these parts *

× This inscription of 150 A. D. mentions the original builders of the lake Chandragupta and Aṣoka of the 4th century B. C. It seems there were other inscriptions nearby upon which the author of this inscription might have relied.

* The four other inscriptions of the year 52 in the reign of Rudradāman are in connection with the memorials raised in memory of dead relatives. Three of them are raised by Madana son of Sīhila, one, in memory of his sister Jeshṭavīrā; another, in memory of his brother Ṛshabhadeva; and the third, in memory of his wife Yaṣadatā–daughter of Sīhamita. Yaṣadatā is called Ṣāmaṇeri – that is, a woman Buddhist disciple. The fourth is raised by Treshṭadata – a Srāmaṇera in memory of his son Ṛshabhadeva.

After Rudradāman there were about twenty-two kings some of whom were Mahākshatrapas while the rest were Kshatrapas. Rudradāman was succeeded by his son Dāmājaḍaṣrī who was succeeded by his son Jīvadāman. But Jīvadāman appears to have been deposed soon after he came to the throne by his uncle Rudrasimha I. Of the time of Rudrasimha we have one inscription from the village of Gunda in Halar district (Kathiawad) which is dated in the year 103, that is, 181 A. D. It commemorates the event of building a well for public use in the village of Rasopadra by the general Rudrabhūti the son of the general Bāpaka Ābhira. After his death his nephew Jīvadāman again seems to have come to the throne. We have one of his coins bearing the year 118, that is, 196 A. D.

Then comes Rudrasena – a son of Rudrasimha to the throne. Of his time we have two incriptions – one found at Muliyasar and the other at Jasdan. The inscription from Muliyāsar commemorates a heroic deed of Vanijaka who saved a friend's life at the cost of his own. The Jasdan inscription refers to a 'ṣatra', which may mean a house for charitable feeding, built

It may be noted that the gotras of Ṛshabhadeva of the second and the fourth inscriptions are the same viz. Opaṣati – which is also the gotra of Jeshṭavīrā of the first. The father's name in the second is Sihila, while in the fourth is Treshṭadata. Yaṣadatā–wife of Madana–and Treshṭadata were Buddhists. The stones on which these four inscriptions are engraved are called 'Lashti' in all the four.

These inscriptions were deciphered by Prof. Devadatta Bhandarkara. They were originally at Andhau in Cutch. (Historical inscriptions of Gujarat. Part I. pp. 17-20).

by several brothers whose names cannot be made out. In the geneology the kings are called 'Swāmi' and 'Bhadramukha'.

I mention only those Kshatrapa kings about whom we know something more than mere names which are given by the coins. In the case of Sanghadāman the interesting question arises whether or not he is to be identified with the 'Sandanes whom the Periplus describes as taking the regular mart Kalyāṇ, near Bombay from Saraganes that is the Dakhan Ṣātakarṇis, and, to prevent it again, becoming a place of trade, forbidding all Greek ships to visit Kalyāṇ, and sending under a guard to Broach any Greek ships that even by accident entered its port' (B. G. footnote p. 44.). There are, however, reasons against identifying Sandanes with Sanghadāman.

After examining the available evidence the author of the footnote of the B. G. concludes "The only possible lord of Gujarāt either in the second or third century who can have adopted such a policy was the Kshatrapa of Ujjain in Malwa and Minnagara or Junagadh in Kathiawada, the same ruler, who to encourage foreign vessels to visit Broach had stationed native fishermen with well-manned long boats off the south Kathiawada coast to meet ships and pilot them through the tidal and other dangers up the Narbada to Broach. It follows that the Sandanes of the Periplus and Ptolemy's North Konkan Sādans are the Gujarat Mahākshatrapas" (p. 45).

From the hoard of Kshatrapa coins found in 1861 near Karad on the river Krishna, thirty-one miles south of Satara, it is inferred that from Vijayasena

(A. D. 238 – 249) to Viṣvasena (A. D. 296 – 300) at least, the Gujarat power had spread in the Deccan. (B. G. pp. 48 – 49).

There is a mutilated Kshatrapa inscription – No. 9 of the Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat – which gives no date but mentions the names of Chashṭana and Jayadāman. The Kshatrapa that may have been intended is probably the great – grand – son of Chashṭana and grand – son of Jayadāman. In that case he would be Dāmājaḍasrī – son of Rudradāman. This inscription mentions Girinagara as the place where something is done. It mentions 'Kevali (Jñā)na sam (?...prāpta) nam...jarāmaraṇa'. From the occurence of the word Kevali, it appears to be a Jaina inscription, because, this word is generally used by Jainas in the sense of one who has attained to omniscience.

So this inscription may be taken to imply the existence of the followers of Jainism in Saurāshṭra in the second century A. D.

The power of the Kshatrapas was destroyed by Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty, and Western India including Gujarat and Surāshṭra was annexed to the Gupta Empire. Rudrasimha son of Satyasimha was attacked, dethroned and killed. Vincent Smith puts this event in the year 395 A. D.

8

Before we come to the Gupta rule over Gujarat we may take notice of the Traikuṭakas. We have three copper – plate grants of the Traikuṭakas. One from Pardi of the king Dahrasena dated Sam. 207; another from Surat of the king Vyāghrasena dated

Sam. 241; and the third from Kanheri dated Sam. 245 not giving the king's name but only mentioning 'in the year two hundred and forty five of the increasing rule of the Traikuṭakas.'

We have also coins of Dahrasena and his son Vyāghrasena. In Dahrasena's coin on one side is a bust and on the other a Chaitya and stars and the Brāhmī legend "Mahārājendradattaputra – Parama – Vaishṇava – Ṣri Mahārāja Dahrasena." On the silver coin of Vyāghrasena we have the Brahmī legend 'Mahārāja Dahrasenaputra – Parama – Vaishṇava – Ṣrī Mahārāja Vyāghrasena.

The Samvat is identified with Chedi or Kalachuri era. The initial date is 248 – 49 A. D. So the three inscriptions will have the corresponding dates, 455 – 56 A. D.; 489–90 A. D.; 493–94 A. D. respectively.

Even though the materials regarding the Traikūṭakas are meagre, it is possible to infer from them that they were powerful kings who ruled southern Gujarat and North Konkana and for sometime Saurāshṭra also, (Purātattva Vol. II p. 58) in the later half of the 5th century A. D. According to the B. G. this 'dynasty rose to consequence about the time of the middle Kshatrapas (250 A. D.).

Dahrasena was the performer of an Aṣvamedha sacrifice. We know from his coin that his father's name was Indradatta. He issued his grant from his military camp at Āmraka to a Brāhmaṇa named Nanna inhabitant of Kapura giving him the village Taḍāka – sārikā the smaller in the Vishaya – district – of Antara – mandalī. The name of the Dūtaka was Buddhagupta.

His son Vyāghrasena who calls himself the lord of wide Aparānta and other country (Atideṣa) issued his grant from Aniruddhapura to a Brāhmaṇa named Nāgaṣarman a 'Purohita – pallikā' in the Āhāra of Iksharaki. The grant was written by the Mahā-sāndhivigrahika – the great minister for peace and war – Karkka. The name of the Dūtaka is Halāhala.

We learn from the coins and these grants that Dahrasena and his son Vyāghrasena were devout Vaishṇavas. In the grants they call themselves Bhagwat-pāda – Karma – kara – the servants of God, and in the coins Parama – Vaishṇava the devout Vaishṇava.

We may note that these Traikuṭakas were connected with Haihayas.

9

Chandragupta II came to the throne about the year 375 A. D. The conquest of Mālawa and Gujarāt including Saurāshṭra must have been a matter of long war. " The expedition which conquered Mālawā seems to have passed from Allahabad by Bundelkhand to Bhilsa and thence to Mālawā. " The way by which the second Chandragupta's army must have marched is inferred as follows : " From Ujjain by way of Bagh and Tanda in the province of Ratt he seems to have entered South Gujarāt and to have passed from the Broach coast to Kathiāwada." Chandragupta II struck silver coins in the Kshatrapa style. His coins in Gujarāt are rare while those of his son Kumāragupta are common. On many gold coins of Chandragupta II a young man is standing behind the main figure with his right hand on the shoulder of the main figure. These figures are supposed to refer to Kumāragupta

and Chandragupta II. From these facts it is inferred that on conquering Gujarāt and Saurāshṭra, Kumāragupta was appointed the viceroy over these provinces. Kumāragupta ascended the throne after his father in the year 413 A. D. He was succeded by Skandagupta in 455 A. D. The first year of his reign was full of trouble for the new emperor. He had to fight the Huns. But within a year or so he seems to have subdued his enemies. He probably added Cutch to his dominions as his coins are common there.

Again we find the lake Sudarṣana providing history, if not making it. The third inscription that the Girnar rock, already referred to, bears is that of Skandagupta of the Gupta Samvat 135, that is, 457 – 58 A. D. It commemorates, in 39 beautiful stanzas, the event of re – building the dam which was again broken by the stormy floods,

In the first stanza, the glory of Vishṇu is sung. Then the Rājarājādhirāja's glory is sung. That is either Skandagupta himself or one of his predecessors. In the third, Skandagupta is mentioned by name and is described as having made the earth 'repose on him' through his own power. In the fourth, mention is made of his having humbled his enemies in Mleccha countries. Upto the tenth verse his kingly qualities are described. In the eleventh verse, the king is described as anxiously thinking as to who amongst his officers is competent enough to bear the burden of governing the Surāshṭras. He finds that Parṇadatta is the man for the job, and appoints him to the post. The king felt at ease after putting Parṇadatta in the West as gods feel at ease by appointing Varuṇa in

the West. (13).× Then in six verses, Chakrapalita the son of Parṇadatta is described. The twenty-sixth tells us that his father seeing his qualities gave him the task of protecting the city. Five more verses describe his work as an efficient officer.

Verses 26 and 27 describe the rains pouring down day and night on the sixth of the month *Jyeshṭha* in the Gupta year 136, that is, 456 A. D. In verses 28 and 29 the rivers Palāṣani and others having their source in the mountain Raivataka (Girnar) are described as going to their lord – the sea. The movement of the waters from the mountain to the sea is described as the riverine hand (nadīmayo hastah) of the friendly mountain Urjayat beautified by the flowers growing on its banks, extended towards the ocean which was in great turmoil on account of the monsoon.* Verse 30, describes the terror of the people not knowing what to do and their day and night counsels.

Then comes the description of the rebuilding of the lake. The whole work was finished in the year 137 of the Gupta Samvat in two months' time. The length of the new dam was one hundred hands, the breadth sixty eight, and the height seven purushas. The last verse expresses the hope that the city enjoyed by its citizens may prosper, and that its sins be destroyed by Brahma sung by hundreds of Brāhmaṇas and be free from famine and other troubles for a hundred years.

This part of the inscription is called Sudarṣana –

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* This might also mean that like Varuṇa Parṇadatta was a maritime lord.

* A slightly different interpretation is put upon this verse by others.

taṭāka – samskāra – grantha – rachanā –' composition on the repairing of the lake Sudarṣana.'

The second part of the inscription mentions the building of a temple of Vishṇu near the lake by Chakrapālita in the Gupta samvat 138. " The temple as if rising from the mountain Ūrjayat appears as if lording over the head of the city." × The temple is so high that it seems " to obstruct the passage of birds in the sky." *

Skandagupta died about the year 430 A. D. After him the Gupta power appears to have declined from Western India. In Ujjayinī Toramāṇa rules, while Gujarāt becomes independent under the rulers of Valabhi.

Under the Mauryas and the Guptas the imperial city was Pāṭaliputra, and under the Kshatrapas it was Ujjayinī. Leaving out of consideration Ānandapura and Dwārakā – capitals of Gujarāt in Puraṇic times, we may say that historically, the first capital of Gujarāt was Girinagara and it remained so far more than seven centuries from the time of Chandragupta Maurya (321 – 297 B. C.) to the time of Skandagupta (480 A. D.).

10

For the history of Valabhi and its rulers our main sources of information are the copper – plate grants issued by the rulers of Valabhi, a few coins,‡ the contemporary accounts of the city and the province given by Yuavan Chang, and references in literary

× ....उत्थितमिवोर्जयतोऽचलस्य ।
कुर्वत् प्रभुत्वमिव भाति पुरस्य मूर्ध्नि ॥

* See note 1 on the remains of the dam in the B. G. p. 70.

‡ Puratattava Vol. II p. 58.

works such as the famous Bhaṭṭikāvya, Daśakumāra-charita, the Kathāsaritsāgara, and the Udayasundarīkathā of Soḍḍhala, and the traditions of bards.

The traditional accounts of the bards given by Major Watson in the Indian Antiquary Vol. III narrate incidents which are not contradicted by other things known from more reliable sources. In fact they seem to fit in well with them. Relying upon them we can gather the following facts. Bhaṭārka's + forefathers were rulers of Ayodhyā who were subsequently conquered by the Guptas. Bhaṭārka was a general of Skandagupta. Now we know from the Girnar rock inscription that Parṇadatta was the governor of Aparānta and his son Chakrapālita was the executive head of Girinagara. According to the bardic accounts Kumārapālagupta – a prince – was sent by his father to conquer Gujarāt, who after fulfilling his mission appointed Chakrapāṇi son of Prandat as the governor of the province. Now this Chakrapāṇi and Prandata may be identified with Chakrapālita and Parṇadatta respectively of the Girnar inscription; though this will create a little discrepancy. According to the inscription Parṇadatta was appointed by Skandagupta and Chakrapālita by his father. This, however, may easily be explained away by supposing that Skandagupta may have confirmed Parṇadatta and his son – appointed by his father Kumāragupta. * In any case Bhaṭārka seems to have displaced Chakrapālita or Chakrapāṇi accord-

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+ It is also spelt as Bhaṭakka and Bhaṭṭārkka in the copper-plate grants.

* It appears that the bards have confused Skandagupta and Kumāragupta I and II.

ing to the bards, and become an independent ruler at Valabhi after Skandagupta.

To what race did Bhaṭārka belong? According to the B. G. "Bhaṭārka belonged to some low or stranger tribe. Though the evidence falls short of proof the probability seems strong that Bhaṭārka belonged to the Gurjara tribe, and that it was the supremacy of him and his descendants which gave rise to the name Gurjjara – rātra — the country of the Gurjjars, a name first used by outsiders and afterwards adopted by the people of Gujarāt" (p. 85). Inferring from the copper – plates known to them, the authors of the B. G. had come to the conclusion that Bhaṭārka had crushed the power of the Maitrakas and had become consequently a sovereign ruler. But Fleet did not accept this view. The wording of the copper – plates is such as to give rise to a different interpretation. According to Fleet "Maitrakāṇām" means that Bhaṭārka belonged to the Maitrakas. But Kielhorn did not accept this interpretation as there is no such word as Vaṃṣe or Kule. The later discovery of other copper – plates at Ganesgada, however, supported the view of Fleet. Hultzsch who discussed the whole question again in the Epigraphica Indica Vol. III says on the strength of the new discovery. "Whether we paraphrase the passage by 'Maitrakāṇām Bhaṭārko'bhavat' or supply the word 'Vaṃse' after 'Maitrakāṇām', it is now evident that Bhaṭārka, the ancestor of Valabhi kings, himself belonged to the family or tribe of the Maitrakas."

These Maitrakas are identified with the Meḍhas or Mehrs of Kathiawad in the B. G. Mr. Jayaswal,

however, on the strength of certain references in the Ārya Manjuṣrī Kalpa and the Paikuli Sassanian inscription in Asuristan regards the Maitrakas as a branch of Yādavas (pp. 25 – 26) *

The Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt Part I edited by Mr. Acharya, publishes one hundred and one copper – plates of which five are undated and do not contain the names of the donors. The first plate is that of Droṇasimha and is dated Valabhi samvat 183 Ṣrāvaṇa 15th of the bright half which agrees with 502 A. D. Saturday 6th of July. The last plate that we have is that of Ṣilāditya the Seventh and is V. S. 447 Jyeshṭha 5th of the bright half which will correspond with 766 – 67 A. D. May or June. Thus we have records for two hundred and sixty five years. The plate issued by Droṇasimha does not mention the names of his elder brother Dharasena or his father Ṣri Bhaṭārka, unless we understand Paramabhaṭṭāraka – pādānudhyāto in Droṇasimha's plate as referring to Bhaṭakka or Bhaṭārka. The first mention of the names of the founder and his eldest son is in the plate of Dhruvasena I dated Valabhi samvat 206 Bhādrapada that is, 525 – 26 A. D. If we suppose that Bhaṭārka became independent after the death of Skandagupta whose general, presumably, he was,‡ we may say that

* Mr. C. V. Vaidya, however, is of the opinion that Maitraka was the name of the family like Maukhari, Chālukya etc., and that it must be left untranslated, and no conjectures should be hazarded about its meaning. But if any are to be made, why not say that Maitraka means Maitra – born of the sun. p. 243 History of Medieval Hindu India Vol. I.

‡ It is not certain whether Toramāṇa's sway extended over Gujarāt or not. If it did, we will have to come down to 490 A. D. for Bhaṭārka's independence.

he and his son Senāpati Dharasena I ruled over Gujarāt for about twenty to twenty – two years, that is, 480 – 500 – 502 A. D. Thus we have in all twenty–one rulers reigning in the city of Valabhi over a period of about two hundred and eighty seven years. Of these twentyone, the copper – plates issued by fifteen kings have been discovered up till now.

From the titles prefixed to the names of kings, as also from the mention of places and districts we are able to form some idea about the political position of different kings with reference to other rulers, imperial or otherwise of India, as also of their dominions. The titles, however, should not be taken too literally. Senāpati, Mahāsāmanta, or Mahāpratihāra do not necessarily suggest dependence as some of these were repeated as a matter of routine. So also the title of Chakravartin when it occurs for the first time may be taken to indicate All – India power but not a thorough – going subjugation of the whole country. Bearing these considerations in mind let us try to form some idea of the political power of Valabhi kings.

The founder Śri Bhaṭārka who must have been an able man and whose great valour is described in the plates is only called a Senāpati – probably because he did not assume other titles. So also his eldest son Dharasena. But his second son Droṇasimha calls himself ' Parama – Bhaṭṭāraka – pādānudhyāto ' as also ' Mahārāja '. This means that though he was a ' great king ' he was looked after by the great Bhattāraka, that is, lord. It is not certain who this ' great lord ' was; whether he was an emperor or some great head of a religious sect; for the word Bhaṭṭāraka conveys

both the meanings. In the plates of his younger brother Dhruvasena I the third son of Śrī Bhaṭārka we find it mentioned that he was crowned king personally by 'Paramaswāmī' – 'over – lord' the king of the whole world. This probably means that his sovereignty was recognised by the then occupant of the imperial throne, who may have personally come to grace the occasion. According to Cunningham "It was the last act of supreme sovereignty performed by Buddhagupta."

It may be that the general Bhaṭārka and his son the general Dharasena were military rulers who were more or less occupied with fighting; for it is only about Mahārāja Droṇasimha that the plates of Dhruvasena say that he acted according to the duties prescribed for kings by Manu and other law-givers and was consequently a 'Dharmarāja' who had made provision for education (Vinaya) and systematic government (Vyavasthā-paddhati) of his people. This description reminds us of Kālidāsa who, if he lived in the Gupta period, must have been fresh to the memory of the literary men of Droṇasimha. The poet in his Raghuvaṃśa describes Dilīpa as the real father of his subjects because he educated, protected, and supported his people who were said to swerve not an inch from the path laid down by Manu.

Mahārāja Droṇāsimha seems to have set the fashion for his successors of giving great donations – though only one copper plate of his is as yet discovered. He made his donation for the benefit of a temple of the goddess Pāṇḍurājā.

Of Dhruvasena I we have in all about sixteen plates. In some he calls himself 'Parama – bhaṭṭāraka-

pādānudhyāta' that is, 'one looked after by the great over-lord', Mahāsāmanta-'the great chief' and Mahārāja 'the great king.' In addition to these titles, in the plate dated 216 (= 535 A. D.) found at Vaḷā - the modern namesake of Valabhi, he gives himself the titles- 'Mahāpratihāra' 'the great door-keeper,' Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, 'the great general or governor,' Mahākārtakṛtika which may be literally translated as the great follower of Kārtikeya - 'the general of gods,' and Mahārāja 'the great king.' In some later plates he gives himself merely the first and the last titles.

In common with his predecessors his military exploits are referred to in his plates. His two special qualifications may be noted. One is, Avaboddhā Ṣāstrārtha-tattvānām - knower of the essence of the Ṣāstras, that is, authoritative works on the different branches of learning. Another, refers to his great liberality to friends and learned men, and religious institutions.

We find from his plates that his father Bhaṭārka and his elder brothers Dharasena and Droṇasimha were Parama-Māheṣvara - that is, great devotees of Ṣiva and that he himself was Parama-Bhāgavata, that is, a great devotee of Vishṇu. His grants, however, show him to be a man of liberal religious outlook. His copper-plate dated V. 216 (that is, 535 A. D.) is given for the benefit of a Buddhist Vihāra built by his niece (sister's daughter) Duddā who is called Paramopāsikā and that of V. 217 (that is, 536 A. D.) for this as well as another Vihāra built by Buddhadāsa. The expenses of providing Buddhist monks with the necessaries of life, of treating Buddhist pilgrims from all

directions as guests, of worshipping Buddhist idols, and of repairing Vihāras, were met from the income of these grants. The other grants are to Brāhmaṇas learned in different Vedas. It may be noted that three grants one of 210 (=529 A. D.), the other of 221 (=540 A. D.), and the third of 226 (=545 A. D.) — are given to the Brāhmaṇas of Vaḍanagara the famous seat of Brahmanical learning. In the first it is simply called Nagara; in the second Ānandapura; and in the third Ānarttapura. In the third the names of the donees cannot be made out; in the first, the donees are two brothers: Ṣantīṣarmā and Devaṣarmā of Ātreyagotra, students of the Vājasaneyi version of Yajurveda. In the second the names of the donees are Skanda-trāta and Guha-trāta of Bhāradwāja gotra, students of Sāmaveda (Chhandogasabrhmachāri). This shows that the limits of his kingdom in the north must have included Vadanagara also.

Dhruvasena I must have reigned, at the least, for more than twenty years; probably for thirty years, from 519 to 549 A. D. After him his brother Dharapaṭṭa seems to have occupied the throne. His records, if any, are not yet discovered. It is rather strange that he is not mentioned in the grants of his son, though he is mentioned in those of his grand son. From them we learn that he was Paramāditya bhakta — the great devotee of the Sun.

The first plate of Guhasena the son of Dharapaṭṭa is dated V. 240 (=559 A. D.). In all we have five records of his reign, three of which are copper-plates. The second one is dated 246 (= 565 A. D.) and the third one

is dated V. 248 (=567 A. D.). Upon a broken clay - pot we have a very small inscription giving the date 247 (566 A. D.) and the name Śrī Guhasena and the word 'ghaṭa.' It means that here is something referring to the pot. The fifth record is a stone inscription from which we can make out only the name of Guhasena and nothing more.

Guhasena is simply called Mahārāja in his plates but his other special qualifications mentioned in this as well as in his successors' plates may be noted. It seems the the Royal Treasury had been replenished in his times for he is compared to an ocean for possessing wealth. Another description of his which says that from the time of childhood his second was his sword is rather significant. Like Droṇāsimha he seems to have paid much attention to the regulation of Smṛtis in the act of governing his people. In his case it is mentioned that the word 'Rājan' was literally true for he pleased the heart of his people. * This again reminds us of the Raghuvamśa of Kalidasa where the poet says the same thing about Raghu.

All the three plates describe grants given to the Buddhist monasteries. The first is given to the Vihāra in the city of Valabhi built by Duddā who is called Pujyā - that is 'respected.' This is natural for she was an aunt - that is, father's sister - of Guhasena. In addition to the usual purposes of providing for the monks and pilgrims, repairing the monasteries etc. one more purpose is mentioned - viz. buying of 'books of good religion' that is, Budhism for the Vihāra.

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* His handsomeness, form, steadiness of mind, depth of intelligence, and wealth are referred to.

This proves the existence of a library at least of Buddhist books. The eighteen Nikāyas are also mentioned. The second plate describes the grant given for the same purpose. Duddā is referred to more respectfully as Duddāpāda and the Vihāra is called after her Duddā – vihāra. At the end we find 'Svamukhājnā – that is, 'oral order'. This probably implies that no Dūtaka was necessary. It was written by Skandagupta – appointed to the post of the minister for war and peace. The third is given to the Abhyantarikāvihāra–built by Mimmā who is respectfully referred to as Mimmāpāda, near the Bhaṭṭārkāvihāra which was given to Rājasthānīya (– that is the official guardian –) Sūra. Here also the oral order is mentioned, the grant being written by the same Skandabhatta. In the first two grants Guhasena is a Paramamāheṣvara, that is, a great devotee of Ṣiva; in this, however, he is a Paramopāsaka, that is, a great devotee of Buddha. This means that he became a Buddhist between the years 565 to 567 A. D. This may have been due to the influence of the aunt Duddā. Guhasena ruled probably from 554 A. D. to 569 A. D.

He was succeded by his son Dharasena II. We have some ten or eleven plates bearing his name, the earliest being V. 252 (571 A. D.) and the latest being V. 270 (589 A. D.). As mentioned before, his plates give the name of his grandfather Dharapaṭṭa left out by his father's plates. Most of these grants are given to Brāhmaṇas of various families learned in the Vedas. One plate of the year 252 (571 A. D.) is given to one Rudragopa – a son of Rudraghosha of Kauṣravas gotra and a student of Atharvaveda. He lived in Ānarttapura – that is, modern Vadanagara.

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The grant of the year 259 (578 A. D.) was given to a vihāra named Bappapādiya built at the suggestion of Āchārya Bhadanta Sthiramati. One grant of the year 270 (589 A. D.) was given to the already famous Duddā-vihāra. A third grant, whose date cannot be made out, is also given to a vihāra in Valabhi. Another of the same year was given to one Vishṇumitra who originally belonged to Ānarttapura and was then living in Kheṭaka, that is modern Kheḍā. The village Āsilāpallikā in the Baṇdarijidri tālukā may probably be Āṣāpalli – the older site of Karṇāvatī and modern Ahmedabad which is so near to Bārejaḍi.

Of his special attributes we may note the following: He had astonished all the archers by his natural strength as well as his training in archery. He maintained all the gifts of the previous kings. He showed in himself that Ṣri (= Wealth) and Sarasvatī (= Learning) could live together which again reminds us of Kālidāsa's Bharatavākya in the Vikramorvaṣīya.

He ruled for more than 18 years.

He was succeeded by his son Ṣri Ṣilāditya who was known by the title Dharmāditya because he took particular care in following the model of the ideal kings of old. Even though he was immensely learned he could find pleasure even in a little good-saying wherever he found.

Ten of his plates have been discovered–the earliest dated in the year 286 (605 A. D.); the latest in the year 290 (609 A. D.). One grant of the year 286, and another whose date cannot be made out are given to a Vihāra in Vamṣakaṭa which was built by the king himself. The grant of the year 287 and one grant of the year 290

are given to the Bhikkhuṇīs of Yakshasura. Another grant of the year 290, it may be noted, was given to a temple of Mahādeva – a rare instance, looking to the fact that almost all the kings of Valabhi were Paramamāheṣvaras. This one may indicate that there might have been many more such grants which are either lost or are not yet discovered. If we do not have some such supposition it would be very difficult to explain this paucity of grants from these great devotees of Ṣiva. A third grant of the year 290 gives to the Brāhmaṇas Mitraṣarman and Gameṣvara sons of Rudraṣarman the village of Daṣapura to which place they originally belonged (Mandosara in Mālwa), but were then living in Valabhi. This shows that his kingdom included part of Mālwa at least.

As Molap'o of Yuan Chang comprises main land Gujarat‡ we may quote from his travels, as it gives

‡ "Although it is impossible to reconcile all the data given in the pilgrim's text, and several details are open to controversy, it is clear that the kingdom or country of Mo-la-P'o essentially comprised the basin of the Mahī river, with the region to the east of Sábaramati and a portion of the hilly tract of Southern Rajputānā perhaps extended as far east as Rutlam. Mo-la-P'o was bounded on the North by the Gurjar kingdom of Bhilmal, on the north-west by the subordinate principality or province of Ānandapura (Varnagar), lying to the west of Sabarmati, and on the east by the kingdom (Avanti) or eastern Malwa of which Ujjain was capital. Besides Ānandapura two other countries, Ki-t'A or Ki-ch'A and Su-la-ch'A or Sulatha were dependencies of Mo-la-P'o. The latter dependency certainly is to be identified with Soratha (Surastra), or Southern Kathiawar. The identity of the former is disputed some good authorities holding the Chinese name to mean the Kaira (Kheda, Khetak) District, while others believe it to mean Kuchchh (Cutch)." (E. H. I. pp. 323-324.)

some idea of the civilization of the people at the time and summarizes the records of the country about Ṣilāditya.

"This country Mo – la – Po is about 6000 li in circuit. The capital * is some 30 li round. It is defended (or supported) by Mahī river of the south and east. The soil is rich and fertile and produces abundant harvests. Shrubs and trees are numerous and flourishing. Flowers and fruits are met with in great quantities. The soil is suitable in an especial manner for winter wheat. They mostly eat biscuits and (or, made of) parched corn flower. The disposition of the men is virtuous and docile, and they are in general of remarkable intelligence. The language is elegant and clear, and their learning is wide and profound.

"Two countries in India on the borders, are remarkable for the great learning of the people viz., Mo – la – Po on the South – west and Magadha on the North – east. In this they esteem virtue and respect politeness (humanity). They are of an intelligent mind and exceedingly studious; nevertheless the men of this country are given to heretical beliefs as well as the true faiths and so live together. There are about one hundred Saṅghārāmas in which some 2000 priests dwell. They study the Little Vehicle, and belong to the Sammatiya school. There are one hundred Deva-

* "The unnamed capital, which was situated to the south-east of a great river, or according to another reading, of the Mahī has not been identified. If the great river means the Sabarmati, the capital may have stood at or near the site of Ahmedabad" (E. H. I. p. 323). It might, as well, have been Mahīnagara or Skambhatīrtha or Cambay.

Temples of different kinds. The heretics are very numerous but principally the Pāṣupatas (the cinder - covering heretics).

" The records of the country state : Sixty years before this flourished Ṣilāditya a man of eminent wisdom and great learning; his skill in literature was profound. He cherished and protected the four kinds of creatures, and deeply respected the three pleasures. From the time of his birth to his last hour, his face never crimsoned with anger, nor did his hands ever injured a living thing. His elephants and horses drank water that has been strained, after which he gave it them, lest any creature living in the water should be injured. Such were his love and humanity. During the fifty years and more of his reign, the wild beasts became familiar with men, and the people did not injure or slay them. By the side of his palaces he built a Vihāra. He exhausted the skill of the artist, and used every kind of ornaments in decorating it. In it he put images of several Buddhas, Lords of the World. Every year he convoked an assembly called Moksha Mahā Parishad, and summoned the priests of the four quarters. He offered them " the four things " in religious charities; he also gave them sets of three garments used in the religious services and also bestowed on them the seven precious jewels in wonderful varieties. This meritorious custom has continued in practice without interruption till now." (pp. 260 - 62. Book II. Buddhist Records of the Western World--Beal.)

It is this Ṣilāditya, who according to Dr. Jayaswal, is referred to in the Āryamanjuṣrī Kalpa. *

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* " This Ṣila the Dharmrāja, of the family of Dhara is Ṣilāditya Dharmāditya I, the seventh in succession from

His grants and those of his successor mention Guhasena after Bhaṭārka omitting the intervening kings.

Ṣilāditya was succeeded by his younger brother Kharagraha none of whose grants, if any, are as yet discovered. We, however, learn from his son's copper-plates that he was a learned man as also a patron of learning. From the same source we come to know that he worked in the capacity of Yuvarāja to his elder brother, a fact which is corroborated by the mention of Kharagraha – as a Dūtaka in some grants of Ṣilāditya.

Dharasena I founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi. His inscriptions which date equivalent to 605 A. D. to 609 A. D. have been found. His successor Chapala will correspond with Kharagrha (his nephew) of the inscriptions. His nephew Dhruva-sena II was the next king. Records of his, dated 629-639 A. D. have been found. Dhruva is described in the AMMK as anuja of Chapala, which is to be taken in its original sense 'born after,' 'a younger cadet' and not 'younger brother.' Yuan-Chang saw the artistic Buddhist temple built by Ṣilāditya when he visited Valabhi in the reign of Dhruva, who was a vassal and son-in-law to Harsha.

The dynastic description and the extent of the territories of Ṣilāditya given here settled the controversy started by Hoernle. (J. R. A. S., 1909, 122.) He was the king of the territory from Ujjain in Eastern Malwa upto the west country of the sea, that is, Kachchha, which was the limit of the west country according to the Puranic Geography (I. A. 1933, 126); and he was king of the Lāḍas, that is, what we call Gujarat, and of Valabhi that is, southern Kathiawar.

Dhruva, according to our text, becomes subordinate, which was a fact in Harshavardhan's time." (Imperial Hist. of India pp. 24-25)

He was succeeded by his younger brother Dhruvasena II. We have about seven grants of this king. The earliest is dated 310 (= 629 A. D.), the latest 321 (= 640 A. D.). We learn from these grants that his other name was Bālāditya. They also attribute to him proficiency in arts generally and mastery in the Grammer of Pāṇini, who is mentioned by the name of Ṣālāturīya, and in the science of Polity. He is compared to Manu the first king, because like him he was elected king by his subjects for his merits. His steadfast friendship did not deter him from giving up those friends who were found to have faults of character. This reminds us of Rāghuvamṣa canto I verse 28, where Kālidāsa says of Dilīpa that he cut off connection with even a dear person if he were wicked, like a snake-bitten finger.

The grant of the year 310 (= 629 A. D.) is given to the vihāra which was built by Gūhaka and was a part of the great vīhāra built by the princess Duddā in Valabhi. So also the grant of the year 319 (= 638 A. D.) was given for providing for the Bhikkhuṇīs residing in the vīhāra built by one Puṇṇabhaṭa near the Yakshasura vihāra. In the year 320 (= 639 A. D.) he renewed the grant given to the temple of Koṭṭammahikādevī by Mahārāja Droṇasimha which appears to have become null interim. This might either refer to the grant of Droṇasimha given in the year 183 (= 302 A. D.) where, however, the name of the goddess is Pāṇḍurājā or it might refer to some other gift unknown to us.

The grants of the years 320 and 321 (= 639–40

A. D.) give villages in Mālwa to certain Brāhmaṇas. This shows the extent of his territory.

From a copper-plate grant of Dadda II, who was a contemporary, we learn that Dhruvasena II who was defeated by the great Harsha of Kanouj, was helped by him. Later on, however, Sri Harsha gave Dhruvasena II his daughter in marriage and made peace with him, probably because he was a blue-blooded Kshatariya. This is an instance similar to that of Pradyota-king of Ujjayinī giving his daughter Vāsvadattā to Udayana Vatsarāja. This event is also referred to by Yuan-Chang who refers to Dhruvasena as Tu-lu P'o-Po-ta, that is, Dhruva Bhaṭṭa.

He was succeeded by his son Dharasena IV. We have about four grants of his discovered up, till now. The earliest being dated 326 (=645 A. D.) the latest 330 (=649 A. D.). He was the most powerful of the monarchs of Valabhi. He is called Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājadhirāja Parameṣvara Chakravarti Ṣrī Ajjaka-pādānudhyāta Ṣrī Dharasena.

The mention of the title Chakravartin in the case of Dharasena IV requires some explanation and confirmation. It is rather difficult to imagine that this is merely an ornamental applelation. It must have some basis in fact. Now we know that he was the son of the daughter of Harshavardhana who was then the emperor of India. As Harshavardhana died without a direct male heir, his throne might have been occupied by his daughter's son Dharasena IV. This would entitle Dharasena to call himself a Chakravartin. This supposition receives confirmation from Ṣrī Ārya Manjuṣrīkalpa.

This book was written about the year 770 or roughly 800 A. D. *

Now we know from Yuan – Chang that he referred to the then king of Valabhi as a kshatriya and we also know that his name was Dhruvapaṭṭa or Dhruvabhaṭṭa. As Harshavardhana was a vaishya there is some point in calling his successor a kshatriya. Again we find from the copper – plates of Dharasena IV that he had given many donations in support of Buddhist vihāras for the maintenance of the monks and for the worship of Buddhist idols. All this evidence supports the identification of the king whose name began with 'Dha' with Dharasena IV – made out by Dr. Jayswal.

"Rājyavardhana had his successor in Harsha; and Dh., that is, Dharasena IV his grandson was really Harsha's anuja or descendant in which sense the MMK always uses the term. According to the Mitāksharā idea of Hindu Law, Dharasena IV would be considered a successor and descendant of Rājyavardhana. It is difficult to give value to the initial V. or J. (Tibetian version) of the successor of Dh. but the description

* Jayaswal's Imperial History of India. Introductory p. 3. According to the MMK Rājyavardhana was succeeded by a Kshatriya, the first letter of whose name began with 'Dha'. He ruled for three years. He was succeeded by a king the first letter of whose name began with a letter 'Dha'. He is called Sārvabhumika Bhūpati which technically means an emperor. He had an army consisting of elephants, horses and chariots, as well as a navy. He conquered all the enemies that faced him in battle. He decorated the earth by building many vihāras and idols of Buddha.

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leaves little doubt that it was Dhruvasena III, 'the youngest' of his grand-uncles, all elder to Dharasena's grandfather. The long age (100 years) confirms the identification.

" It is noteworthy that the Valabhi kings maintained a navy.

" Dharasena IV in the year 546 A. D. issued two copper-plates; in the earlier of the two in the same Kartikadi year (326 GE) he is not Chakravartin (Emperor), while a few months after he assumed that title (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1348, No. 1349). We should therefore conclude that his grandfather Harshavardhana died between the month of Māgha (5th Dark Fortnight) and Asadha (S., 10). By that title he claimed to be the heir to the Empire of Harshavardhana and something more, that is, as the Emperor of South." (Imp. Hist. of India. p. 67)

This sudden development of the kingdom of Valabhi into an empire through inheritance explains the geographical description of the territories as well as the big titles of the successors of Dharasena IV; though we may note that the title of Chakravartin is dropped by his successors some of whom still call themselves Parameṣvara†.

† We cannot say with certainty who was the king whose name began with Va or Ja, who succeeded the king the initial letter of whose name was Dha. He may be Derabhatta or his son Dhruvasena III or Ṣilāditya II; or it is just possible that Dharasena might have had a son whose name began with Va or Ja and the kingdom of Valabhi might have passed to Derabhatta the son of his grandfather's brother. This is merely a surmise.

His grant of the year 326 (=645 A. D.) is donated to meet the expenses of the upkeep of a vihāra as also of repairing a reservoir in the vicinity to provide facility of water, both of them, originally, gifts of the minister Skandabhaṭa. It may be noted that the Bhikkhus who resided in this vihāra were of the Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism.

The three other grants are given to various Brāhmaṇas learned in Vedas. The first grant of the year 330 (= 649 A. D.) is given to a Brāhmaṇa hailing from Anarttapura. This one and the other of the year 330 (=649 A. D.) are issued, it may be noted, from the royal military camp at Bharukachchha, that is, the modern Broach. The Dūtaka in the two grants of 326 is Kumāra Dhruvasena, while in those of 330 is Rājaduhitā (that is Princess) Bhupā or Bhuvā.

Two attributes of the emperor may be noted: his pearl ear-ring is said to indicate the pure learning that he had received through his ear; the other, he is called a Dhanurveda in Kārmuka, that is the very embodiment of the science of archery.

It was in the reign of this emperor that Bhaṭṭi the author of the Rāvaṇavadha more usually known as Bhaṭṭikāvya, lived.

After Dharasena IV the line of succession turned back to the son of Śilāditya II, whose name was Derabhatta. No records of his reign are found. From references about him in his son's copper-plates we gather that he was the lord of the earth whose two breasts were the mountains Sahya and Vindhya. He was succeeded by his son Dhruvasena III. Two of his grants are found. One of them is dated in the year 334 (=653 A. D.). The other plate being broken its

date cannot be made out. The first one is given to Bhaṭṭibhaṭa who was a son of Bappa and a resident of Mahichchhaka. One is tempted to guess that this Bhaṭṭi might be the same as the author of Bhaṭṭikāvya. The other grant is donated to the Duddāvihāra.

The learning of Dhruvasena III is described figuratively by saying that as his ear is already ornamented with learning the jewelled ear-ring was a sort of repetition of ornament. He was succeeded by Kharagraha II who is called Dharmāditya. * One grant of his dated 337 (=656 A. D.) is found. Strangely enough we do not find his other name Dharmāditya in this grant of his. The donee is one Nārāyaṇa hailing from Ānandapura and residing in Kheṭaka.

After Kharagraha II we have six kings all of whom bear the name of Ṣilāditya. No grant of Ṣilāditya II is discovered, but in those of Ṣilāditya III he is called the lord of the earth whose breast is the mountain Vindhya.

Ṣilāditya III is called Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameṣvara Ṣrī Bāvapādānudhyāta Paramabhaṭṭārka Mahārājādhirāja Parameṣvara Ṣrī Ṣilāditya in his copper-plates. About eleven of his

* It is rather strange that he is referred to as 'agraja' which usually means an elder brother. Ṣilāditya II who succeeded Kharagraha II is also very strangely called Ṣilāditya's 'agrajanmā'. I think there is some clerical error in 'Agraja' which should be 'Angaja' and 'Agrajanmā' which should be 'Angajanmā'. We may not that just before this, in the plates, Ṣrī Dhruvasena is called 'angaja'=son-of Derabhatta. If this explanation of the discrepancy is accepted, Kharagraha II would be the son of Dhruvasena III and Ṣilāditya II would become the son of Kharagraha II.

copper - plates have been found, the earliest being dated in the year 342 (=661 A. D.) and the latest in the year 365 (=684 A. D.). The plates dated 343, 356 give grants to vihāras built by Vimalagupta and Sthiramati situated within the precincts of Duddāvihāra, and the one, having no date, gives a grant to Duddāvihāra. The donee of the plate of the year 352 (=671 A. D.) is a Brāhmaṇa named Gopadatta a son of adhvaryu Kikkaka hailing from Ānandapura and residing at the time in Valabhi.

Of Ṣilāditya IV there are about five copper-plates; the earliest being dated 375 (=694 A. D.) the latest 387 (=706 A. D.); of Ṣilāditya V two, both dated in the year 403 (=722 A. D.); of Ṣilāditya VI one, dated 441 (=760 A. D.); and of Ṣilāditya VII one, dated 447 (=766 A. D.). All the Ṣilādityas from II to VII bear almost the same titles. If these titles are to be regarded as indicative of some real state of affairs, we can say that after the emperor Dharasena IV the dominions of the monarchs of Valabhi must have been very extensive including the whole of modern Gujrat plus at least western Mālva.

So many as six kings coming in succession bearing one name of Ṣilāditya explains why in later tradition Valabhi was associated with the name of Ṣilāditya. This, however, is a stumbling block to the student of history; for very often when this name occurs in literature, it is not possible to understand which of the seven Ṣilādityas is intended. Thus we find in the Ṣatrunjayamahātmya that one Ṣilāditya was a Jain whose teacher was Dhaneṣvara. We cannot say which of the seven is intended.

We also find a Ṣilāditya mentioned by Soḍḍhala the author of the Udayasundarīkathā (composed between 1026 – 1050 A. D.). While describing the genesis of his caste of the Vālabha Kāyastha (that is Kāyasthas of Valabhi) he refers to one Kalāditya as the founder of his caste. This Kalāditya is mentioned as a brother of Ṣilāditya and as his principal minister. Here again the question arises which of the seven Ṣilādityas is meant. Soḍḍhala himself, in a way, answers the question. When describing the victorious march of Ṣilāditya he mentions one Dharmapāla – the ruler of Uttarāpatha whom S. finds difficult to subdue. The only powerful king of Uttarāpatha of the name of Dharmapāla that we know of is the second king of the Pāla dynasty. According to the Tibetian historian Tārānātha, as quoted by Smith, 'his rule extended from the Bay of Bengal to Delhi and Jalandhara in the North and to the valleys of the Vindhyan range in the south' (E. H. I. p. 398). A ruler of such a dominion would, of course, be called an 'Uttarāpatha – svāmin'. He is said to belong to the dynasty of Māndhātṛ. Smith puts Dharmapāla who is credited with a reign of sixty – four years about 800 A. D. (E. H. I. p. 398). Prior to the thirty–second year of his reign, as recorded in two of his grants, he had defeated Indrapāla or Indrāyudha and installed in his place Chakrāyudha. This event took place soon after 800 A. D. So we can see that Dharmapāla must be ruling prior to 800 A. D. say about 790 A. D. Relying on the evidence of the MMK Dr. Jayaswal places his predecessor Gopāla's reign in the year C. 730 A. D. to 757. Now we saw that the latest Valabhi copper – plate that we

know of is that of Ṣilāditya VII of the year 766 A. D. That makes him a contemporary of Dharmapāla, with whom, according to Soḍḍhala he waged a successful war. This early reverse in arms that Dharmapāla must have suffered at the hands of Ṣilāditya VII might explain why there is no king soon after Gopālaka. However this may be, we can say almost with certainty that Ṣilāditya VII and Dharmapāla were contemporaries and that it is Ṣilāditya VII that is referred to by Soḍḍhala.

From this survey of the kings of Maitraka dynasty from Ṣrī Bhaṭārka to Ṣilāditya VII we find Valabhi assuming prominence in the history of India. It must not, however, be supposed that the city of Valabhi was found by the Maitrakas or that it had no prominence before that. We have evidence to infer the existence of Valabhi in the second century A. D. In the collection of articles found near Valabhi made by Mr. Vajeshankar Gaurishankar there are clay seals of the second and the fifth century A. D. which prove the existence of the place at that time. Ptolemy of the second century A. D. seems to refer to Valabhi under the name of Balai. Valabhi was not so much inland in ancient times as it is now. According to the author of the B. G. "its choice as capital was probably due to its being a harbour on the Bhavanagara creek. Since the days of Valabhi's prime the silt which thickly covers the ruins had also filled and choked the channel which once united it with the Bhavnagara creek when Ghelā was probably a fair – sized river " (p. 79.).

We find reference to Valabhi in the story literature which generally give imaginary place–names but make

an exception in case of great capitals like Pāṭaliputra, Ujjayinī or Valabhi. The Daṣakumāracharita (before 700 A. D.) and the Kathāsaritsāgara which though comparatively a modern work utilizes very old materials, mention Valabhi as an important place.

According to the Jaina tradition Devarḍhigaṇi Kshamā Ṣramaṇa redacted the Jaina canon to its present form in the year 980 or 993 after Mahāvīra that is, in the year 453 A. D. or in the year 466 A. D., in the city of Valabhi. An assembly of all the learned Jaina monks was called and an authoritative form was finally given to the Jaina canon. This proves the prominence of the city of Valabhi at the very beginning of the Maitraka rule.

Yuan - Chang who came to Valabhi about the year 641 A. D. gives a description of the city which enables us to form some idea of its splendour.' The Buddhist pilgrim says as follows:—

" This country (Fa-la-pi) is 6000 li or so in circuit, the capital about 30. The character of the soil, the climate and the manners of the people are like those of the kingdom of Mālavā. The population is very dense; the establishments rich. There are some hundred houses (families) or so, who possess a hundred lakhs. The rare and valuable products of distant regions are here stored in great quantities. There are some hundred saṅghārāmas with about 6000 priests. Most of them study the Little Vehicle, according to the Sammatiyā school. There are several hundred Deva temples with very many sectaries of different sorts.

When Tathāgata lived in the world, he often

travelled through this country. Hence Asoka - rāja raised monuments or built stūpas in all those places where Buddha rested. Scattered among these are spots where the three past Buddhas sat down, or walked, or preached the law. The present king is of the Kshattriya caste, as they all are. He is the nephew of Ṣilāditya - rājā of Mālvā, and son-in-law of the son of Ṣilāditya the present king of Kānyakubja. His name is Dhruvapata (T'u-lu-h'o-po-tu). He is of a lively and hasty disposition, his wisdom and statecraft are shallow. Quite recently he has attached himself sincerely to the faith in the three "precious ones." Yearly he summons a great assembly, and for seven days gives away most valuable gems, exquisite meats, and on the priests he bestows in charity the three garments and medicaments, or their equivalent in value, and precious articles made of rare and costly gems of the seven sorts. Having given this in charity he redeems them at twice their price. He esteems virtue (or the virtuous) and honours the good; he reverences those who are noted for their wisdom. The great priests who come from distant regions he particularly honours and respects.

Not far from the city is a great sanghārāma which was built by the Arhat ('O-che-lo); here the Bodhisattvas Guṇamati and Sthiramati (Kien - hwui) fixed their residences during their travels and composed treatises which have gained a high renown." (Bud. Records of the Western World - Beal Bk. XI pp. 266-267 - 268.)

The existence of many vihāras is, as we have, seen, attested by the several copper - plates of Valabhi.

10

Duddā – vihāra which seems to have developed into a vihāra – maṇḍala – a group of Vihāras containing within its precincts the vihāras built by Buddhadāsa (V. 217– 536 A. D.), Gohaka (V. 310=629 A. D.), Sthiramati and Vimalagupta (V. 343=662 A. D.). The other vihāras in the city itself and near Valabhi were:—the Bhaṭṭārka-vihāra and a vihāra built by Her Worship Mimmā–near the Bhattārka – vihāra (V. 248=567 A. D.), Śrī Bappa – pādiya vihāra built by Sthiramati (V. 259=578 A. D.), – one built in Vamṣakaṭa by Śilāditya I, – one built by Punnabhaṭa in the vicinity of Yakshasūra – vihāra near Valabhi (V. 319=638 A. D.), and one built by the minister Skandagupta with a water – reservoir to supply water to the vihāra (V. 326=645 A. D.) and others.

The great sanghārama built by Arhat or Achara referred to by Yuan Chang has been identified with the caves in the Talaja hill (Bhavnagar State Kathiawad) by Mr. Hiralalal A. Shah. * This vihāra is the same as is mentioned in the copper – plate grant of Dharasena II of the year 259 (= 578 A. D.). It is described therein as "Śrī Bappapādiya vihāra caused by Āchārya Bhadanta Sthiramati in Valabhi." We are to understand that it was situated not actually in the city itself, but nearby; because to indicate in the city itself the words "Valabhi Svatalanivishṭa" are, generally, used. This agrees well with the description given by Yuan – Chang who says 'not far from the city.' Mr. Hiralal after comparing the other vihāras built by Achara which are identified with those of Ajanta and Nasik, comes to the conclusion that this vihāra of Achara also must be in a hill. This agrees very well with

* Purātattva Vol. 1, pp. 103–112.

the caves in the Talajā hill near Bhavnagar, which is not very far from Valabhi and the main door of whose principal assembly–hall looks over the old site of Valabhi. That Valabhi was a great seat of learning is again proved by 'I–tsing a junior contemporary' of Yuan – Chang. According to him "Nalanda in South Behar and Valabhi were two places in India which deserved comparision with the most famous centres of learning in China and were frequented by crowds of eager students who commonly devoted 2 or 3 years on attendance at lectures on Buddhist philosophy. This statement explains the assertion of Hiuen Tsang (Yuan Chang) that Mo–la P'o or Western Mālawa, and Magadha were the two countries of India in which learning was prized, because Valabhi and Mo – la p'o were then politically one, both territories apparently being under the government of Dhruvabhaṭa, the son – in – law of King Harsha, paramount sovereign of Northern India." (Early His. of India — Smith: p. 314.)

Valabhi appears to have been a great centre of learning not only Buddhistic but Vedic and Jain also. We find in the 32nd taranga of the Kathāsaritsāgara (composed between 1063 – 1081 A. D.) that one Vishṇudatta native of Antarvedi goes to Valabhi for learning. + Again if there is anything which the grants attest quite definitely it is the royal patronage of Vedic learning throughout the whole kingdom. We saw that the learned Brāhmaṇas of Ānandapura

+ K. S. S. p. 141. (N. S. E.)
स विष्णुदत्तो वयसा पूर्णषोडशवत्सरः ।
गन्तुं प्रवव्रते विद्याप्राप्तये वलभीं पुरीम् ॥

(= modern Vadanagara) are conspicuous in the grants. The great Bhaṭṭikāvya – a veritable literary feat – which appears to have been the model of Hemachandra's Dvyāṣraya kāvya – was composed at Valabhi. This is merely a single literary remain which is, however, suggestive of a vast literary activity. This inference would appear right if we remember that the kings of Valabhi themselves are described as very learned. One of them Dhruvasena II is specially described as proficient in the science of Ṣālāturiya – that is –the Grammer of Pāṇini, and the Science of Polity.

Of the existence of Jaina learning, evidences are not wanting. We saw that in the beginning of the Maitraka rule Valabhi was the scene of a great Jaina scriptural activity. Under the supervision of Devarḍhigaṇi the whole Jaina canon was redacted to its present form. In fact this is one of the greatest events in Jaina history. We may also here refer to Mallavādin one of the greatest of Jaina dialecticians and the author of Nayachakra. According to the Prabhāvaka-charita Malla was the youngest of the three brothers – the name of the other two being Jitayaṣas or Jinayaṣas and Yaksha who lived in Valabhi with their mother whose name was Durlabhadevī. They had a maternal uncle who was a Ṣvetāmbara Jaina monk and was known as Jinānanda Sūrī. He was defeated by a Buddhist monk named Nanda or Buddhānanda in a public controversy at Bhṛgukachchha (Broach). He left that city and came to Valabhi where he made his nephew his disciples. All the three received high learning at Valabhi and became great masters of Ṣāstras. Jitayaṣas wrote a Nyasa – a sort of commentary – on a work of

grammar known as Visrāntavidyādharavara (probably only Visrānta Vidyādhara); × Yaksha composed a Samhitā known as Nimittāshṭāngabodhinī while Malla wrote his famous treatise on Jaina philosophy known as Nayachakra. Malla went to Broach and defeated his uncle's opponent Buddhānanda in a public controversy in the royal assembly. He was given the title of Vādin as a token of victory. There seems to be some truth in this episode. For we find that soon after the fall of Valabhi-power Buddhism gradually disappears from Gujarāt and Jainism taking its place. This may be due not a little to the controversies carried on by Mallavādin. *

As to the importance of Valabhi as a centre of trade and commerce we have sufficient evidence. We saw what Yuan-Chang says on this matter in his travels. The story-literature also bears testimony to this. For example, in the Daṣakumāracharita of Daṇḍin (before 700 A. D. – almost a contemporary) we find " There is a city named Valabhi in Saurāshṭra. In it there is an owner of ships named Gṛhagupta who can vie with Kubera in riches. He had a daughter named Ratnamatī. A merchant-prince named Balabhadra from Madhumatī (present day Mahuva) comes to Valabhi and marries her" etc. (p. 225). We find in this story Kheṭaka + associated with Valabhi. So also

× This work V. V. is referred to by Hemachandra in his grammar Siddha-Hema. Vāmana is said to be the author of the Viṣrānta-Vidyādhara. See the Purātattva, Vol. IV. p. 91.

* The story is somewhat differently told in the Prabandhachintāmaṇi and the Prabandhakoṣa. There Malla is associated with Ṣilāditya.

+ The grants also associate Valabhi and Kheṭaka.

in the Kathāsaritsāgara we find a Vidyādhara, who had to take birth in the family of a merchant, being born in the city of Valabhi as a son to a very rich merchant and bearing the name of Vasudatta.÷ He is ordered by his father to go to other parts for business etc. (T. 22; p. 85). In the same work, again, we find Devasena of Pāṭaliputra going to Valabhi for trade - business × leaving his wife Kīrtisenā to the tender mercies of his mother. (Taranga 29 p. 130 K. S.).

We pause here for a while to review the state of different religions in Gujarāt from the Kshatrapa rule to the Maitraka rule. Judging from the coins of Kshatrapas and the copper - plates of Maitrakas, we find that the state religion, or to be more precise, the royal religion was Ṣaivism. " This Ṣaivism seems to have been of the old Pāsupata school of Nakulisa or Lakulisa as the chief shrine of Lakulisa was at Karavana " (p. 83 B. G.). * As a result of the missionary activities of Aṣoka Buddhism seems to have made good head - way amongst the people as well as in the

÷ अचिरेणैव जातोऽहं भूतले वणिजां कुले ।
नगर्यां वलभीनाम्न्यां महाधनवणिक्सुतः ।
वसुदत्ताभिधानः सन् वृद्धिं च गतवानहम् । (श्लो. ५९-६०)

× एकदा स पतिस्तस्या देवसेनो वणिज्यया ।
गन्तुं प्रववृते बन्धुप्रेरितो वलभीं पुरीम् ॥

* According to the latest researches of Mr. Ratnamaṇirao Skambha or Skambhatīrtha — the old Sanskṛta name for Khambhāta - was the original home of Linga - worship and that Gujarāt was known as Lāṭa to foreigners because it worshipped Lāṭa - or the stone - phallus. See for this interesting theory ' History of Khambhāta:' by Mr. Ratnamaṇirao. Principal Anandshanker Dhruva, however, and some other scholars also, do not agree with this view.

nobility and also in royal families. Inscriptions of the followers of Buddhism of the time of Rudradāman and the copper-plates of Valabhi are evidences of this state of things. Guhasena in one of his plates is called Paramopāsaka-a great follower of Buddhism for which Duddā his paternal aunt seems to be responsible.

The spread of Jainism, though not so marked, is made evident by a Jaina inscription of the Kshatrapa period to which we have previously referred. According to Mr. Jayaswal Nahapāna was a Jaina. Be that as it may, at the time of Valabhi-supremacy Jainism seems to have made considerable progress; otherwise Devarddhigaṇi would have found it impossible to hold his council of Jaina monks in Valabhi. As a result of the activities of Mallavādin Jainism seems to have received fresh impetus.

Vaishṇavism seems to have received much support in the time of the Guptas. The Traikūṭaka kings were Parama-Bhāgavatas, so also Dharasena II. Dharapaṭṭa was a Paramāditya-bhakta or a great devotee of the Sun.

One fact, however, seems to come out clearly from the copper-plate grants of Maitraka kings, and that is, that the spirit of toleration and reverence for good things of all religions - taught by Aṣoka was not forgotten by subsequent rulers. Even though, almost all the kings of the Kshatrapa and the Maitraka periods were great devotees of Ṣiva, their gifts extended to all creeds and sects, especially, to Buddhism.

The copper-plates supply us with many details which enable us to visualize the administration of the kingdom of Valabhi. The B. G. gives a good summary which I quote in the footnote below.+

+ " The Valabhi grants supply information regarding the

As to the fall of Valabhi, Bühler, in 1872, confessed that it was a question most difficult to decide. Mr. Niharranjan Ray in his articles on the Maitrakas of Valabhi (Ind. Hist. Quarterly. September 1928) says that after so many years of research it is still one of the most difficult question to decide. The B. G. mainly relying upon the tradition mentioned by Alberuni places the sack of Valabhi about the year 770 A. D. (pp. 94 – 96).

As to the man who was mainly instrumental in bringing the foreigners to overthrow the king Ṣilāditya

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leading office-bearers and the revenue police and village administrators whose names generally occur in the following order:

(1) Āyuktaka } meaning appointed, apparently any
(2) Viniyuktaka } superior officer.

(3) Drāngika, apparently an officer in charge of a town, as dranga means a town.

(4) Mahattara or Senior has the derivative meaning of high in rank. Mhātārā the Marathi for an old man is the same word. In the Valabhi plates mahattara seems to be generally used to mean the accredited headman of a village, recognised as a headman both by the people of the village and by the Government.

(5) Chāṭabhaṭa that is bhaṭas or sepoys for chāṭas or rogues, police mounted and on foot, represent the modern police Jamadars, havāladārs and constables. The KumārapālaCharita mentions that Chāṭabhaṭas were sent by Siddharāja to apprehend the fugitive Kumārapāla. One plate records the grants of a village 'unenterable by Chāṭabhaṭas.'

(6) Dhruva fixed or permanant is the hereditary officer in charge of the records and accounts of a village, the Talati and Kulkarni of modern times. One of the chief duties of the Dhruva was to see that the revenue farmers did not take more than the royal share. The name is still in use in Cutch where village accountants are called Dhru and Dhruva. Dhru is also a common surname among Nāgar Brāhamans and Modh and other Vanias in Cutch Gujarat and Kathiawada.

there is a general agreement in the traditions. It was Raṇka a Mārwādi merchant – prince, originally a very poor man coming from Pāli, and getting his fabulous wealth in Valabhi, who, as the author of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi says, " brought mud to his

(7) Adhikaraṇika means the chief judicial magistrate or judge cf a place.

(8) Daṇḍapāśika literally ' holding of the fetters or noose of punishment, ' is used both of the head police officer and of the hangman or executioner.

(9) Chauroddharaṇika the thief – catcher. Of the two Indian ways of catching thieves, one of setting a thief to catch a thief, the other the Pagi or tracking system, the second answers well in sandy Gujarat and Kathiawada where the Tracker or the Pagi is one of the Barabalute or regular village servants.

(10) Rājasthāniya, the foreign secretary, the officer who had to do with other states and kingdoms rājasthānas. Some authorities take rājasthāniya to mean viceroy.

(11) Amātya minister and sometimes councillor is generally coupled with Kumāra or Prince.

(12) Anutpannadānasamudrāhaka the arrear–gatherer.

(13) Śaulkika the superintendent of tolls or customs.

(14) Bhogika or Bhogoddhāraṇika the collector of the Bhoga that is the state share of the land–produce taken in kind as a rule one-sixth. The term bhoga is still in use in Kathiawada for the share, usually one–sixth, which landholders receive from the cultivating tenants.

(15) Vartmapāla the roadwatch were often mounted and stationed in thanas or small roadside sheds.

(16) Prātisaraka patrols night–guards or watchmen of fields and villages.

(17) Vishayapati division – lord probably corresponded to the present subah.

(18) Rāshṭrapati the head of a district.

(19) Grāmakūṭa the village headmen." B. G. Vol. I pp. 81–82.

11

name by destroying his country" (deṣabhangasamāsāditapanken Rankeṇa.).

As to the time when this event took place there are three dates given by Jaina writers. A gāthā quoted by Merutunga–the author of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi gives 475 V. S. (or as given by a different reading 375) (=419 (319) A. D.); Rājaṣekharasūri – the author of the Prabandhakoṣa gives, 573 V. S. (=517 A. D.); while, Jinaprabhasūri – the author of the Vividhatīrthakalpa gives the year 845 V. S. (=789 A. D.). The first two dates are clearly unacceptable because, as we saw, the latest Valabhi grant discovered is that of the year 447 (=766 A. D.), unless we take them to refer to earlier sacks of Valabhi, which is not altogether improbable. The year given by Jinaprabhasūri – 845 V. S. (=789 A. D.) – seems to be correct. In the Arab references given in the B. G. (pp. 524–25), we find that the expedition of 776 A. D. though partially successful ended in disaster. This "dettered Al Mahdi (A. D. 775 – 785) the succeeding Khalifah from extending the eastern limits of his empire." From this we may conclude that the final Arab attack which with the help of the treacherous Ranka gave almost a death–blow to the city of Valabhi must have taken place after 785 A. D. This conclusion fits in very well with the date of Jinaprabhasūri; so we may further conclude that the glory of Valabhi was extinguished in the year 789 A. D.

" After the overthrow of Valabhi " says Vincent Smith. " its place as the chief city of Western India was taken by Aṇhilwada, which retained that honour until the fifteenth century, when it was superseded by Ahmedabad." (E. H. I. pp. 314 – 315). Before we

come to Aṇahilavāda, let us pause for a while to have a look at Bhinnamāla – which was, according to the Ṣrimāla puraṇa (Adhyāyas 72, 75) the immediate source of men, money and culture of Aṇahilavāda.

11

The importance of Bhinnamāla or Ṣrimāla in the history of Gujarat cannot be exaggerated. It was the first capital of Gurjaratrā–which means literally '(the land) protected by the Gurjaras' and which is the sanskritised form of the Prākṛta word Gujjarattā from which the modern word Gujarāta is derived. In other words, it was the first capital city of the Gurjaras who gave this province its present name. And, even after it ceased to be the capital, it was the people who hailed from Ṣrīmāla that mostly made the history of Gujarāta. To the present day most of the Hindu population (in which term I include the Jainas also) of Gujarāt trace their origin to their connection with Ṣrīmāla and its suburbs.

The first authentic source of information that we have about the Gurjara kingdom and its capital Bhinnamāla is, again, from the travels of Yuan – Chang who seems to have come to this part about 641 A. D. He says as follows:—

"Going north from the country of Valabhi 1800 li or so, we come to the kingdom of Kiu – che – lo (Gujjara)×.

× Julien restored the Sanskṛta name of the country Kir-che-lo as Gurjjara. Mr. Watters thought that the 'pilgrim probably transcribed a name like Guchala or Guchara' (p. 250). Col. J. W. Watson identified Pi–lo–mo–lo with Bhinnamāla. Cunningham tells us that 'this city is exactly 300 miles to the north of the ruins of Valabhi' (p.).

This country is 5000 li or so in circuit. The capital which is called Pi-lo-mo-lo is thirty li or so round. The produce of the soil and the manners of the people resemble those of Ṣurāshṭra. The population is dense; the establishments are rich and well supplied with materials (wealth). They mostly are unbelievers; a few are attached to the law of Buddha. There is one Saṅghārāma with about a hundred priests; they are attached to the teaching of the Little Vehicle and the school of the Sarvāstivādas. There are several tens of Deva temples, in which sectaries of various denominations dwell. The king is of the Kshatriya caste. He is just twenty years old; he is distinguished for wisdom, and he is courageous. He is a deep believer in the law of Buddha; and highly honours men of distinguished ability."

We may infer from this that in the first half of the seventh century A. D. Bhinnamāla which lies about fifty miles west of Mount Abu was known as the capital of a Gurjara kingdom whose circuit was more than 830 miles. In this connection, the Javanese tradition, which has already been discussed previously, may be referred to. According to it the prince Bhruvijaya Savelachala who came to Java about 603 A. D. was the son of Kasamachitra or Balya Acha who was king of Kujarāt. This word Kujarāt is restored to Gujarāta. Now if this tradition had a contemporary origin we may say that in the beginning of the seventh century a Gurjara kingdom existed in this part. From the copper-plates discovered in south Gujarāt the existence of 'a small Gurjara kingdom in and about Bharucha about A. D. 580 to 808 is inferred' (B. G. p. 113). From a copper-plate of the year V. S. 900 (=844 A. D.) of the Pratihāra king Bhoja I discovered from a temple

in ruins in the village Siva in Jodhpura state we learn that the village Siva which was in the Dendvāṇaka district of Gurjaratrābhūmī (Gurjarat land or Gurjara-land) was given in gift. A stone-inscription of the ninth century A. D. discovered at Kalinjare mentions a village named Maṅgalānaka which is also a village in the Jodhpura state as situated in Gurjaratrā-maṇḍala. Two inscriptions of V. S. 918 (=862 A. D.) discovered from the village of Ghatiale in the Jodhpura state – one in Sanskṛta and the other in Prakṛta – mention Gurjaratrā and Gujjarattā respectively.

All these pieces of evidence, though fragmentary, make it probable that the dominion of the Gurjaras was extensive. If the Gurjara kingdom of Bharucha may be regarded as the remnant of a Gurjara empire one may say that the Gurjaras might have spread upto Narmadā in the south. The northern limit would be the eastern part of Jodhpura state.*

Now we have to face the questions who were the Gurjaras, when did they occupy Bhinnamāla, and when did they spread over the whole province which was named after them.

The earliest reference to the Gurjaras as yet discovered in Samskṛta literature is to be found in the Harshacharita of Bāṇa a protègè of Ṣri Harsha. There we find that Prabhākaravardhana the father of Ṣrī Harsha is called Gurjara-prajāgara, that is, according to the commentary Samketa 'one who deprived the Gurjaras of their sleep,' or it may mean, 'one who was wakeful,

* See Pandit Gaurishankar Oza's Rajputānekā Itihāsa part I. pp. 130–133 and also his articles in the Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā New series Vol. III pp. 341–46.

that is, on his guard against Gurjars.' This will carry us to the latter half of the sixth century A. D. – the period of Harsha being 606 A. D. to 647 A. D. According to Smith the Gurjaras whom Prabhākaravardhana defeated were "probably those of Rajputānā, but possibly those of the Gurjara kingdom in the Punjab, now represented by Gujarāt and Gujaranwala Districts." (p. 336 E. H. I.). If the Gurjaras were those of Bhinnamāla we can say that they were ruling there in the sixth century, and if they were those of the Punjab we may guess that some of them might have been compelled to leave the Punjab and come to Bhinnamāla in the latter half of the sixth century.

The generally accepted view about the origin of Gurjaras is that 'they were foreign immigrants' and were 'closely associated with, and possibly allied in blood to the white Huns' (p. 321, E. H. I.).* Pandit Gaurishankara Oza – the great historian of Rajputānā, has very ably controverted the prevalent view about the foreign origin of the mediaeval royal dynasties of India, including that of Gurjara dynasty in his 'History of Rajputana Part I (pp. 36 – 67 and 133 – 134). We cannot enter into the merits of his arguments here, but this much may be said that from a strictly logical point of view, the question is still unanswered and some of the arguments of the learned Pandita are unanswerable. One strong argument, however, in favour of the foreign origin and late advent of Gurjaras into India is that they are

* Cunningham connects Huns with Yuechi that is Kuṣanas while Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar following Sir James Campbell connects them with the Khajara tribe.)

not mentioned in the tribal lists of the Mahābhārata or any other Samskṛta work earlier than the Harshacharita.

Another important question is whether Chāpas, Chāvoṭakas or Chāvaḍas, Pratihāras of Bhinnamāla and later on of Kanauja, the Solankis and other ruling tribes of Gujarāta were of the Gurjara origin or that they were simply called Gurjaras because they ruled or belonged to the province which was already known as Gurjaradeṣa or Gurjaratrā-bhūmi. Pandita Oza holds the latter view. According to him the Gurjara rule had ended in Bhinnamāla before the coming of Yuan - Chang or before the completion of Brahmasphutasiddhānta of the astronomer Brahmagupta who is called Bhillamālikāchārya in the Saka Samvat 550 that is, 628 A. D.; because, the king who was ruling then in Bhinnamāla was one Vyāghramukha belonging to the Chāpa dynasty (Rājputānekā Itīhāra part I pp. 132-133). If we accept this view we will have to assume that the Gurjara power spread over the whole of Gujarāta and part of Rajputānā before or by the beginning of the sixth century A. D.. For this, however, we have no corroborating evidence. Pandita Oza himself confesses that 'it is not certain when the rule of Gurjaras began and how long it lasted.' There is nothing improbable, however, in the Chāpas, Pratihāras, etc. originally belonging to the wider Gurjara clan; and I think the simultaneous mention of Chāvoṭakas, Gurjaras etc. in inscriptions should not be made much of. It is not difficult to find wider clans and castes mentioned with their sub-clans or sub-castes. For example, we know that the Vāghelas were a branch of the Solankis; yet we find Vāghelas and Solankis mentioned together.

Similarly, though the Prāgvāṭas are also Śrīmālis they are often mentioned with them. The same is true about other castes. For example, some of the Vadanagar Brāhmaṇas call themselves Nāgars, and call the others Brāhmaṇas. That does not mean that Nāgaras will cease to be Brāhmaṇas if they may be simultaneously mentioned with Brāhmaṇas. If we accept the suggestion that the Chāpas, Pratihāras etc. were Gurjaras we can explain with greater probability and plausibility the spread of Gurjara power as well as the name Gurjaratrā over the whole of the province.*

Mr. Jackson in his excellent monograph on Bhinnamāla published as an appendix to the B. G. Vol. I gives a detailed account of the ruins of the city, of the objects of interest in it, of its surroundings, of its history, and inscriptions discovered there.

From this we gether that Bhinnamāla must have been a magnificent city. " The site of the city is in a wide plain about fifteen miles west of the last outlier of the Ābu range. To the east, between the hills and Bhinnamāla, except a few widely-seperated village sites, the plain is chiefly a grazing ground with brakes of thorn and cassia bushes overtopped by standards of the camel-loved pilu Salvadora persica. To the south, the west, and the north the plain is smooth and bare passing westwards into sand. From the level of the plain

* According to Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar Gurjaratrā was originally only a province in Rajputana. The present-Jay province got its name after the Solankis became its rulers when the Gurjars first entered it and gave it the name Gurjaratrā or Gujarāta. Mr. N. B. Divetia seems to agree with this view. (Gujarati Language & Literature. p. 38.).

stand out a few isolated blocks of hill, 500 to 800 feet high, of which one peak, about a mile west of the city, is crowned by the shrine of Chāmuṇḍā the Śrī or Luck of Bhinnamāla. From a distance the present Bhinnamāla shows few traces of being the site of an ancient capital. Its 1500 houses cover the gentle slope of an artificial mound the level of their roofs broken by the spires of four Jain temples and by the ruined state office at the south end of the mound. Closer at hand the number and the size of old stone – stripped tank and fortification–mounts and the large areas honeycombed by the diggers for bricks show that the site of the present Bhinmal was once the centre of a great and widespread city." (B. G. Vol. I, p. 449.)

For Śrīmāla we are fortunate in possessing another important source of information viz. Śrīmāla–māhātmya or S. Purāṇa.+ This Purāṇa, in a legendary form, gives much interesting information about the city of Śrīmāla. A brief summary of this account will give some idea of its historical importance.

The site which ultimately became known as Śrīmāla was in the beginning known as Gautamāśrama–the hermitage of the sage Gautama. Gautama was asked

+ According to some these two are different works. Mr. Jackson takes this Purāṇa to be four hundred years old. We gather from the S. Purāṇa that Gautama created 84 Jaina gachchhas out of which Tapa–gachchha was the principal (A. 74 v. 54.). Tapa–gachchha was started in the year V. S. 1285–1229 A. D. The mention of eighty four gachchhas indicates a still later date. See the Jaina S. S. Vol I No. 3 p. 39. As in the case of other Purāṇas, however, information contained in this also may be much older than the final redaction of the Purāṇa.

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by Ṣiva himself to go to that place where there was a lake known as Traiyambaka lake. This lake is described as being situated to the north of the mountain Saugandhika (that is the mountain near Sugandhā that is modern Nasik) and to the north-west of the mountain Ābu. * Near this lake was a forest sacred to Varuṇa and known as Varuṇa-kānana because Varuṇa got his overlordship of the West by practising penance there. Gautama founded his hermitage there occupying an area of five gavyūtis – that is about ten miles, and resided there with his wife Ahilya and disciples. × This place later on became Ṣrīmāla.

The mythical explanation of the name Ṣrīmāla is interesting. Ṣrī or Lakshmi was born as a daughter to the sage Bhṛgu and was married to Vishṇu. As she was flying over the place with her Lord and other gods they stopped at the place. It was after bathing in the lake Traiyambaka that Ṣrī remembered her true self. On the occasion of Ṣrī's self – realization gods covered the whole place with mālās–that is garlands–of divine flowers. Consequently the whole site of five krosas which was occupied by the vimānas of the gods was named at the request of Ṣrī as Ṣrīmāla. She gave the whole place as a gift to Brāhmaṇas, and

* अस्ति सौगन्धिकादद्रेरुत्तरस्यां दिशि द्विज ।
वायव्यामर्बुदारण्यात् सिद्धगान्धर्वसेवितम् ।
सरस्त्रैयम्बकं नाम सर्वपापप्रणाशनम् ॥ अ. २ श्लो. २२–२३.

× Brahmā, Vishṇu and MaheṢa – the Divine Trinity and other gods and goddesses were requested to reside there. The sage Devala who went on a pilgrimage to that place uttered the following verse being impressed with its holiness:

एकतस्त्र्यम्बकं सरश्चैकतो गौतमाश्रमः ॥
अत्रान्तरे तनुत्यागान्न भूयो जायते नरः ॥ A. 4. V. 51.

expressed her intention to keep a part of herself there. Vishṇu asked the Gaṇas to bring holy Brāhmaṇas from different parts of the country and asked Viṣvakarmā to build in the meanwhile a city on the site. The divine architect built a magnificent city which is beautifully described in the Ṣrīmāla Purāṇa.* The city was inspected by Ṣrī, Vishṇu, and other gods from air and they expressed their satisfaction with the words 'Oh lovely ! lovely ! What beauty ! What magnificence !'+

Ṣrī, being completely satisfied, gave Viṣvakarmā–celestical hasta–sūtras–armlets (literally threads for arms) and golden lotus garlands; while Vishṇu gave him a boon which is historically significant. "The best of Brāhmaṇas will study the science of architecture that you have created as if it were a dharmaṣāstra (religious work). Without doubt you will be the first of architects who will honour you when they build palaces and houses." When we remember the architectural heritage of Gujarat and the class of master – builders who created it, this promise seems to have been properly fulfilled.×

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* See. Adhāyas 9 (verses 1–22), 10 (vs. 2–24), and 72 (verse 1–15).

+ अहोरम्यमहो रूपमहो महः ।

× परितुष्टा ततो देवी प्रददौ विश्वकर्मणे ।
हस्तसूत्राणि दिव्यानि स्रजं च कनकाम्बुजां ॥
प्रददौ देवदेवोऽपि वरं तस्मै गदाधरः । ३०
त्रिषु लोकेषु शालानां यत्कृतं शास्त्रमुत्तमम् ।
धर्मशास्त्रमिव प्रीत्या पठिष्यन्ति द्विजोत्तमा ॥ ३१
त्वदाद्याः शिल्पिनः सर्वे भवितारो न संशयः ।
लोके निष्पद्यमानेषु प्रासादेषु गृहेषु च ।
अर्चयिष्यन्ति मर्त्यास्त्वां सर्वे कामार्थसिद्धये ॥ ३२

The holy Brāhmaṇas came and received the free gift of the city from Ṣrī, giving Gautama the place of honour. The Brāhmaṇas from the Sindha – forest, however, did not accept the leadership of Gautama and were, therefore, expelled.

The city then, after the site on which it was built, became known as Ṣrīmālanagara. This, according to the Purāṇa, was the name of the city in the Satya Yuga. Its name in the Treṭā Yuga was Pushpamāla, while in the Kalī Yuga is Bhinnamāla or Bhillamāla. * Its fourth name is indicated in the Purāṇa+ and mentioned in the Prabandhachintāmaṇi viz. Ratnamāla in connection with the story of the king Ṣrī Punja and his daughter Ṣrīmātā.

It is possible to form some idea of the extent of the city. According to the Ṣrīmāla Purāṇa, as we saw, the extent of the Gautamāṣrama was five gavyutis, that is roughly about fifteen miles. The area of the city occupied by big mansions was equal to the area occupied by the vimānas of the gods that is five kroṣas roughly ten miles.× The whole vistāra – or extent of the city is described as five yojanas that is roughly fifteen to twenty miles.

The form of the city was square.‡

The Purāṇa gives certain figures about Ṣrīmāla, calling it Ṣrīmālikī sarvasamkhyā – that is ' all figures

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* पुष्पमाला मया कण्ठे कश्यपस्य निवेशिता ।
त्रेतादौ पुष्पमालेति नाम्ना श्रीमालमस्त्विति ॥ A. 45. V. 56.

+ See Adhyāya 66.

× See Adhyāya 3 (V. 124–25), and 8 (Vs. 14, and 37, 38.

‡ A. 10. V. 58. पञ्चयोजनविस्तारं चतुरस्रं समन्ततः ।

of Ṣrīmāla.' According to this there were 1000 Gaṇā-patis, 4000 Kshetrapālas, 84 Chanḍikā Devīs, 1000 lakes, 11000 Ṣivalingas, 999 principal temples and 18000 Durgā – temples.

There were 4000 Brahmaṣālas and 8000 shops, and 1000 assemblies.

The city had 84 gates+ in the wall fortifying it.*

Those vaishyas who stayed in the eastern part of the city were known as Prāgvāṭas, in the southern as Dhanotkaṭas and in the western and northern as Ṣrimālins.×

We find corroboration for this account from the description given by Yuan – Chang. According to him " Pi – lo – mo – lo is 30 li or so round " that is, about six miles; " the population is dense, the establishments are rich (well) supplied with materials." Prabhāchandra-surī the author of the Prabhāvakacharita (V. S. 1334 A. D. 1278) describes this magnificent city as follows:—

" In Gurjaradeṣa or Gurjaraland which is the abode of perennial wealth there is a city called Ṣrīmāla which is like the face of the earth damsel. The rows of the kumbhas on its temples appear like jewels on the city's crest. It is adorned with magnificent palaces

+ Adhyāya 71. The Purāṇa gives the figures about the population of the city also.

* " Of its fortifications, which, as late as A. D. 1611, the Engligh merchant Nicholas Ufflet, in a journey from Jhalor to Ahmedabad, describes as enclosing circuit of thirty-six miles (24 koṣa) containing many fine tanks going to the ruins, almost no trace remains." (B. G. p. 449.)

× A. 13. V. 25.

प्राग्वाटा दिशि पूर्वस्यां दक्षिणस्यां धनोत्कटा ।
श्रीमालिनः प्रतीच्यां वै उत्तरस्यां तथाऽविशन् ॥

beautified by Mattavāraṇa* and its main roads are decorated by the presence of mighty elephants. There are also beautiful Jaina temples and great sages in the city."

Mr. Jackson describes in detail the Jaikopa (Yaksha-kūpa) or Yaksha Well and the temple of Jagatsvāmi–the Sun. × The most interesting thing near the lake is a massive broken statue. Mr. Jackson after describing the statue in detail says " In spite of its featureless face and its broken hands and feet the figure has considerable dignity. The head is well set and the curls and diadem are an effective ornament. The chest and the full rounded belly are carved with skill. The main fault in proporation, the over–shortened lower arm and leg and the narrowness of the throne, are due to the want of depth in the stone. The chief details of interest are the figure's head–dress and the ball of stone in its right hand. The head–dress seems to be a wig with a row of crisp round curls across the brow and four lines of long curls hanging down to the shoulders and the crisp curls on the top of the head. The mukuṭa or diadem has three upright faces, a front face over the nose and side faces over the ears joined together by two rounded bands. At first sight the stone - ball in the right hand seems a cocoanut which the king might hold in dedicating the lake." Examination shows it to be a human head. (B. G. P. 457.)

" The appearance of the figure, its massive well

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* An architectural term meaning a projecting part of a house looking like a protruded neck. प्रग्रीवेा मत्तवारणे अ. चि. ४–७८.

× For Yaksha-kūpa-māhātmya see Adhyāya 22 and for Jagatsvāmin see A. 43 of Śrimāla Purāṇa.

proportioned and dignified pose, and the long wig-like curls, like the bag wig on the figure of Chand on the south-west or marriage compartment of the great Elephanta Cave, make it probable that this statue is the oldest relic of Shrimal, belonging like the Elephanta wigged figures to the sixth or early seventh century the probable date of the founding or refounding of the city by the Gurjjaras." (B. G. P. 458).

'According to the dates preserved by the local tradition, the first temple of Jagat Svami, or the Sun was built in in 222 S. V. (=166 A. D. ?) The city was destroyed in S. V. 265 (=209 A. D.). In S. V. 494 (=438 A.D.) the city was sacked second time by a Rakshasa. In S. V. 700 (=643 A. D.) the city was re-built. In S.V. 900 (=844 A. D.) it was destroyed for the third time. In S. V. 955 (=896 A. D.) the city was again restored and it was followed by a period of prosperity till the beginning of the 14th century.' (B. G. P. 463.)

The first authentic source of information about Bhinnamāla is an inscription of Varmalāta who according to the Prabhāvakacharita was a king of Bhinnamāla. This inscription is dated V. S. 682 (=626 A. D.). This is probably the same Varmalāta who is referred to by Māgha in the Praṣasti of his Mahākāvya Ṣiṣupālavadha. If the identity is accepted we can place Māgha who according to the tradition was a poet of Ṣrīmāla 50 years after this or considering the reference to Nyāsa about 700 A.D. (See Keith Samskṛta Literature); for Suprabhadeva, the grand-father of Māgha was the prime minister of Varmalāta; the name of the poet's father being Dattaka who was addressed as Sarvāṣraya by the people for his friendliness towards all. It may be that Māgha

ended every canto of his poem with the word 'Srí' for which he is called 'Srayanka' with a view to commemorate his city Srimāla in his epic.

While describing the surroundings of Bhinnamāla Mr. Jackson refers to a large area rough with heaps of bricks which is said to be the site of an old Vidyāsālā or Samskrta College.

According to S. Purāṇa there were one thousand Brahmasālās and four thousand maṭhas where the different branches of learning were taught.+ It says:

प्रत्यूषे ब्रह्मघोषेण देवशङ्खस्वनेन च ।
गवां हुंकारशब्देन वत्सानां वासितेन च ॥
श्रीमालमभवद् भूप बाह्याभ्यन्तरं शुचि ॥ ४
धर्मशास्त्राण्यनूच्यन्ते सरहस्यानि सर्वतः ।
सहोपनिषदो वेदाश्छन्दो व्याकरणानि च ॥ ७ अ. ४२.

And in A. 71 v. 9:

चतुर्वेदाः साङ्गाश्च ह्युपनिषत्सहितास्तथा ।
सर्वशास्त्राणि वर्तन्ते श्रीमाले श्रीनिकेतने ॥

This tradition of Srimāla being a great centre of learning is corroborated from other sources also. We saw that the great poet Māgha flourished in this city. We also know that the great astronomer Bhillamallakāchārya Brahmagupta completed his treatise on artronomy known as Brahmasphutasiddhānta in Saka 550 (=628 A. D.). Albureni (A. D. 1020) says that 'the Brahmasphuṭatasiddhānta was composed by Brhamagupta the son of Jishnu from the town of Bhinnamāla between Multan and Anhilwada.'

Srīmāla was also a great place of Jaina learning. The famous Upamitibhavaprapanchākathā of Siddharshi was finished in V. S. 962 (906 A. D.) at Bhinnamāla.

+ See S. Māhātmya A. 12. v. 22; and also A. 71.

It was also one of the centres of literary activity of Haribhadrasūri the author of many important works on Jaina philosophy and also of a general work on the Schools of Indian Philosophy known as Shaḍ–Darṣana–samuchchaya. He also composed the Samarāditya-Kathā a novel whose hero is Samarāditya. This work is mentioned as a sakalakathā in the K. S. It is this Haribhadrasūri who is credited with proselytizing a number of Prāgvāṭas who, later on, played a very important part in the history of Aṇahilavāda Patan. Siddharshī who according to the Prabhāvakacharita was a citizen of Ṣrīmāla was also a disciple of Haribhadrasūri. It was for his sake that the commentary Lalitavistarā was composed by Haribhadrasūri.

The Prākṛta novel 'Kuvalayamālā – Kathā' of Uddyotanasūri, which was so effectively utilized in settling the date of Haribhadrasūri by that great scholar Muni Ṣrī Jinavijayaji, * was completed at 'Ṣrī Bhinnamāla Nagara' 'in the afternoon of the last but one day of the year 700 of the Ṣaka Kāla.' The author ends his work with the words: "This has not been composed with the pride of being a poet or with the intention of writing poetry. It has been composed because it is a Dharma – kathā. Therefore, do not look to its demerits." These few instances will suffice to give an idea of the active literary life of Ṣrīmāla, which was the immediate inspiring model of Aṇahilvāda – Pātana. The part that Haribhadrasūri played at Ṣrīmāla must have inspired not a little the ambition of Hemachandra.

Having noted the Purāṇic explanation of the name

* See the Vasanta Rajata Mahotsava Smārakagrantha.

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Ṣrīmāla, let us, before we come to the religious and political history, see if it is possible to have an historical and more rational account of this place-name. In all the four names viz. Bhinna or Bhillamāla, Ṣrīmāla, Pushpamāla and Ratnamāla–the word māla is common. Now the word māla has three meanings – a forest between two villages, a hilly piece of land and a mlechchha jāti + – a non – aryan foreign or aboriginal tribe. All the three meanings will suit the context, but the name of Kaliyuga viz. Bhillamāla seems to be the first historical name while the others are laudatory names. It is a known fact that many tracts become known by the name of the tribes who reside there. This particular tract in the beginning must have been occupied by the aborigines known as Bhillas and Mālas and must have therefore been known as Bhilla-māla. As the city prospered, its proud dwellers must have tried to change the name to Ṣrīmāla, though, as we have seen before, Brahmagupta the famous astronomer of the early part of the seventh century A. D. calls himself a Bhillamālakāchārya. The frequent troubles, according to the Purāṇa and local tradition, caused by the Rākshasas to the city might have been nothing else than the rebellions of these Bhillas and Mālas who were deprived of their possessions. One of the holy places described by the S. Purāṇa bears the name of Kairāta Lake, that is a lake sacred to a Kirāta or Bhilla. ×

+ See Abhidhāna-Chintamaṇi.

माला भिल्लाः किराताश्च सर्वेऽपि म्लेच्छजातयः ॥ का. ४, श्लो. ५९८, and मालं ग्रामान्तराटवी । का. ४. श्लो. २९ ॥ According to Mallinātha (M. D. V. 16) मालं शैलप्रायमुन्नतस्थलम् ।

× See A. 19. The name of the Kirāta was Jhinjhira.

We may here briefly refer to the religious history of Śrīmāla. From the S. Purāṇa we gather that it was a place of Śaiva and Vaishṇava worship. But from the same source we learn that Jaina religion became predominant in the Kali Yuga.* From Yuan-Chang we learn that Buddhism also prevailed there in his time.

Now we come to a short account of the political history of Bhinnamāla. After Varmalāta (A. D. 626), Vyāghramukha the king of the Chāpa dynasty was reigning in the year 628 A. D. When Yuan – Chang came about 641 A. D. there was a Kshatriya king who was 20 years of age. He might have been a son of Vyāghramukha. In the copper – plate grant of the Chālukya Sāmanta Pulakeśin of the Kalachuri Samvat 490 (740 A. D.) there is a reference to Chāoṭakas being attacked by the Mussalmans. If they were the chāpas of Bhinnamāla, we can say that Bhinnamāla must have been attacked between the years 732 and 740 A. D. +

After the Chāoṭakas we find Pratihāras reigning in Bhinnamāla. It is not known when the Chāpas were displaced by the Pratihāras. Pandit Gauriśankar Oza puts this event between 740 and 809 A. D.

The first Pratihāra king that we know of is Nāgabhatta or Nāgāvaloka. If he is the same Nāgabhaṭṭa who is mentioned in the copper – plate grant of the Chauhan king Bhartṛvṛddha II of the V. S. 813 (=757 A. D.) discovered in the village of Hansot in the Broach District, in which Bhartṛvṛddha is called

* See A. 73. जैनधर्मं च श्रीमाले चरिष्यन्ति कलौ युगे ॥ ८७

+ For an alternative view see the next section on Chavaḍas.

a sāmanta of Nāgāvaloka, we can say that his dominion extended 'from Mārwād in the north to Broach in the south.' In his time the Baluchis made an expedition against his kingdom but were defeated.

Then, we pass over to two other kings–Kākutstha and Devarāja–and come to Vatsarāja. He conquered the Gauda kings of Bengal. When he was engaged in fighting with a king of Mālavā, he was attacked by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhruvarāja who ultimately defeated him. Vatsarāja had to flee back to his country Māravāḍa and hand over the two white umbrellas which he had taken from the Gauda king to the Rāshṭrakūṭa king. He is referred to in the Jaina Harivamṣapurāṇa composed by the Jaina Digambara Āchārya Jinasena in Ṣaka Samvat 705 (= 783 A. D.). He is also referred to by Uddyotanasūri in his Kuvalayamālā–kathā (p. 271).

He was succeeded by his son Nāgabhatta II. He was also called Nāgāvaloka. He defeated Chakrāyudha the king of Kanouj and thus became the lord of an empire. We know from the Gwalior inscription that he conquered the kings of Andhra, Saindhava, Vidarbha, Kalinga and Vanga and took the mountain-castles of Ānartta, Mālavā, Kirāta, Turushka, Vatsa, and Matsya. We have an inscription of him V. S. 772 (=716 A. D.) found from Buchakala a village in the Jodhapura state. He was a great devotee of Bhagavatī. This Nāgabhaṭṭa is also called Āma by the Jaina writers. According to the Prabhavakacharita he died in V. S. 890 (=834 A. D.). Probably it was in his time that Bhinnamāla ceased to be the capital of Gurjara empire and only remained a provincial capital. The seat of the Gurjara empire then became Kānyakubja.

We pass over his son Rāmachandra and come to Bhoja Deva who was the most powerful king of the Pratihāra dynasty. We have about five inscriptions of his time ranging from V. S. 900 to 939 (=844–883 A. D.). His silver and copper coins bearing on one side the legend Śrī Mahādivarāha ' and on the other an image of Bow have also been discovered. He was also a devotee of Bhagavatī. His queen's name was Chandra-bhattārikā Devī. A sixth inscription of his has been discovered in Kathiawad which shows that his sway extended to that province also.

" Bhoja " to quote Smith " enjoyed a long reign of about half a century (C. 840–90 A. D.) and beyond question was a very powerful monarch whose dominions may be called an empire without an exaggeration." (E. H. I. p. 397.) " Unfortunately, no Magesthenese or Bāṇa has left a record of the nature of his internal government " (Ibid p. 380).

He was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla. He is also called Nirbhayarāja or Nirbhaya–narendra. Two of his inscriptions and three of his copper–plates have been found dating from V. S. 950 to V. S. 967 (=894–911 A. D.) Two of the copper–plates were found in the village of Una in the Junagadha state. That proves his suzerainty over that part. He had appointed a governor whose name was Dhiyaka and who was administrating the province on his behalf.

His teacher was the famous poet and critic Rājaśekhara who is the author of a work on Poetics called the Kāvyamīmāṃsā, and of the plays, Karpūramanjarī Viddhaśālabhanjikā, Bālarāmāyaṇa and Bālabhārata. We find that Hemachandra has

borrowed many passages from the Kāvyamīmāmsā in his Kāvynuṣāsana. Mahendrapāla was also a devotee of Bhagavatī.

He was succeeded by Mahīpāla. He is known also by the name of Kshitipāla Rājaṣekhara was living in his time also. He refers to him in the prologue of his play Bālabhārata, as the Mahārājādhirāja of Āryāvarta and the conqueror of Murala Mekala, Kalinga etc. He fought with Rāshtrakūṭa king Indrarāja III and was defeated according to the account of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. A copper-plate of his has been found in the village of Hadala in Kathiawad of Ṣaka samvat 836 (=914 A. D.), from which we learn that a feudatory of his named Dharaṇīvarāha of the Chāpa dynasty, was reigning there. Another inscription of his dated V. S. 974 (=918 A. D.) has also been found.

He was succeeded by three kings: Bhoja II, Vinayapāla, the younger brother of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla II, the son of Vinayapāla. In his time Gujarat seems to have become independent under Mularāja Solanki of Aṇahilavāda Pāṭaṇa. (See Nāgari Prachāriṇi Patrika — New series Vol. IX; pp. 320-27).

In this period upto 953 A. D. Bhinnamāla seems to have continued as the most important city in Gujarāta. Immediately after that during the reign of one Bhimasena a migration of 18,000 Gurjaras from Bhinnamāla is recorded. * " An important result of this abandoment of Bhinnamāla was the transfer of overlordship from Bhinnamāla to Aṇahilavāda ". (B. G. p. 469).

* According to the Ṣrīmāla Purāṇa Ṣrī left that city in the V. S. 1203=1147 A. D.

12

Now we come to the history of the Aṇahilavāḍa kingdom.

For the early history of Aṇahilavāḍa – Pattana and its Chāvadā rulers, we have no contemporary records, either inscriptional or literary. The earliest reference to the Chāvaḍās of Aṇahilavāda is in the Vadnagara inscription dated V. S. 1208 – A. D. 1152 in the reign of Kumārapāla. The earliest reference to the name of Vanarāja, the first Chāvadā king of Aṇahilavāda is of the year V. S. 1216 (= A. D. 1160) in the colophon of an Apabhramṣa work called Neminātha-chariu of one Haribhadra Sūri who completed the work in that year in the residence provided by the minister Pṛthvīpāla in the reign of Kumārapāla. This praṣasti or colophon which is published by Prof. Jacobi at the end of his edition of Sanatkumāracharitam (p. 152) is a very important historical document as it narrates the history of an influential family in which was born the famous general Vimala who built on Mount Ābu that great work of art–the temple known as Vimalavasahi. It also gives some interesting information about the reign of Vanarāja to which we shall refer at the proper place. The Moharājaparājaya of Yaṣahpāla which was acted in the reign of Ajayapāla (V. S. 1229 – 1232 = A. D. 1173 – 1176) also makes mention of Vanarāja and the excessive addiction of Chāvadās to drinking liquors.

The Prabhāvakacharita of Prabhāchandra Sūri (circa V. S. 1334 = A. D. 1278) throws light on the rights given by Vanarāja to Chaityavasi monks as

against the Suvihita monks. The Sukṛtasamkīrtana of Arisimha (about V. S. 1278–1287=A. D. 1222–1231) is the first work which describes all the kings of Chāvadā dynasty in regular succession. The commentary of Abhayatilakagaṇi on the Dvyāṣraya of Hemachandra which was completed in the year V. S. 1312=A. D. 1256 mentions the story of the shepherd Aṇahilla who showed Vanarāja the site for founding the city named after him. The most important work, however, which provides ample material for the whole history of Aṇahilavāda kingdom is the Prabandhachintāmaṇi of Merutunga (about V. S. 1361 = A. D. 1305). It is the first work which gives a regular chronology for the history of Gujarat from the founding of Aṇahilavāda Pattana in the year V. S. 802 (= A. D. 746) to the year V. S. 1277 -(A. D. 1221), when Vastupāla went to pilgrimage. Another work which gives the chronology for this period differing in some points from that of the Prabandhachintāmaṇi is the Sthavirāvalī or Vichāraṣreṇī of Merutunga (about V. S. 1400 = A. D. 1344) who has been mistakenly identified with the author of the P. C. though really a different person.

A collection of old prabandhas edited and published by Muni Jinavijaya under the title of Purātanaprabandha Samgraha supplies many dates and details for the history of Aṇahilavāda. It appears that many of these prabandhas were the original source of the P. C. and later works.

The Vividhatīrthakalpa of Jinaprabhasūri (about V. S. 1364=A. D. 1308) whice is a sort of guide–book of Jaina Tīrthas of the fourteenth century is a veritable mine of materials for the history of Gujarat.

The Ratnamālā of Krshṇa Kavi, a work in Hindi language of the seventeenth or the eighteenth century is 'a poetic history with good descriptions and many fables taken from the Prabandhachintāmaṇi' (B. G. p. 149 f. n. 2). The Purāna of the Modhera Brāhmaṇas also supplies some interesting material.

A careful study of these works makes evident the earlier existence of traditional chronicles oral as well as written.

Coming to the history of Chavadā-clan which is also referred to under the Sanskritized forms Chāpotkaṭa or Chāvoṭaka or simply Chāpa-we find that there is evidence to prove the existence of two kingdoms different from one established at Aṇahilavāda. The first is that of the Chāpa king Vyāghramukha of Bhinnamāla to which we have already referred. The second is that of Dharaṇīvarāha of Wadhavāṇ in Kathiawad who was subordinate to the Pratihāra emperor of Kanauj about the year 914 A. D. (R. I. pp. 144-149).

We have no definite information as to the connection of the Bhinnamāla Chāpas or earlier Chāpotkaṭas of Wadhavan, if any, with the Chāvaḍas of Aṇahilavāda. We may here note that according to a verse in the B. P. ms of the P. C. the lord of the Chāpotkaṭas is said to be in the family (vamṣe) of King Haihaya. We, however, require more evidence to make the significance of this relation more definite.

The Ratnamālā of Krshṇa Kavi narrates the story of Jayaṣekhara-the Chavaḍā king of Panchāsara. According to this account, Jayaṣekhara was attacked by Bhuvada of Kalyāṇakaṭaka in V. S. 752, i. e. A. D.

696 The city of Panchāsara was beseiged by the attacking army. The siege continued for fifty-two days. When Jayaṣekhara saw that he could no longer hold against the enemy, he sent away his queen Rūpasundarī who was pregnant, to a forest near by with her brother Surapala who was his general. Jayaṣekhara met with a heroic death in open battle. In the forest Rūpasundari gave birth to a son who was later on known as Vanarāja.

This account of Jayaṣekhara is not given by any other work. The Purātanaprabandhasamgraha tells a different tale about the parentage of Vanarāja. It says " In the village of Ambāsara, there lived two brothers named Chaṇḍa and Chāmuṇḍa of the Chapotkaṭa clan. An astrologer informed them that the child which the wife of Chāmuṇḍa was carrying when born would kill Chaṇḍa. So she was abandoned. She went to Panchāsara where she made her living by gathering fuel and other things. Ṣri Ṣilaguṇasūri who had gone out, saw the shade of Vaṇa tree bending over the boy who revealed auspicious marks. The mother was given shelter in a Chaitya or temple where he resided" (p. 12 Vanarājavṛttam). The name of the mother is not mentioned by the P. P. S. The P. C. makes no mention about the parentage of Vanarāja. Its account begins thus : " Gurjaradharitrī, i. e. Gurjarland was a part of Kānyakubja. In the village of Panchāsara in the district of Vadhra in that Gurjarland, a mother placing her boy in a cloth-swing under Vanatree was gathering fuel. Silaguṇasūri observed that the shade of the tree even though it was afternoon was bending over the child. Thinking that this was due

to the mysterious prowess of the boy who would become a Jainaṣāsanaprabhāvka i. e. a propagator of Jain faith, he took him from his mother who was provided with a living. He was entrusted to the care of Gaṇinī (i. e. the head-nun) Vīramatī. He was given the name of Vanarāja. When he was eight years old he was asked to look after the holy things so that they might not be damaged by rats. He did this by killing them with arrows. Ṣilaguṇasūri foresaw from his horoscope that he was to become a great king and so he was returned to his mother. Vanarāja lived with his maternal uncle who was leading the life of an outlaw against the ruling power.

The account of the Modhera Brāhmaṇas who claim to have given shelter to the queen and brought up her boy, gives her name as Chhattā or Akshatā.*

From all these accounts we find that Vanarāja was connected with Panchāsara in the earlier part of his life. Now let us see if we can discover some relation between the Chavadas of Aṇahillapura and those of Bhinnamāla through Panchāsara. According to the P. C. a king named Bhūyarāja was reigning in Kalyāṇakaṭaka which was the capital of Kānyakubja country, which contained thirty-six lacs of villages (p. 11). According to the same authority Gujrat was a territory of Kānyakubja country at the time of Vanaraja's birth. This is, however, an anachronism. For, we know that the

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* The Prabhāvaka-charita gives the name of the monk as Devachandra. This is possible, for, Devachandra was a disciple of Ṣilaguṇasūri. See Pr. Ch. p. 265, and the introduction of Muni Kalyanvijayaji to the Gujarati translation of the same, p. 87.

Pratihāras who were reigning at Bhinnamāla in the middle of the eighth century A. D. became masters of Kānyakubja in the beginning of the ninth century A. D. when Nāgāvaloka II (see page C) defeated Chakrāyudha and became the ruler of Kānyakubja. According to the chronology of the P. C., however, Vanarāja died in the year V. S. 862 = A. D. 806 at the age of 110. This would mean that he was born in V. S. 752 = A. D. 696. Thus, at that time, Gujarat could not be a territory of Kānyakubja.

This anachronism may be explained by assuming that northern Gujarat was subject to the Pratihāras of Bhinnamāla who, later on, became emperors at Kānyakubja and so in later tradition Gujarat was regarded as a part of Kānyakubja.

Now, we saw that the Chāpas were displaced from Bhinnamāla by the Pratihāras. It is not certain, however, when this event took place. We saw that Vyāghramukha of Chāpa dynasty was reigning at Bhinnamāla in the Ṣaka year 550 = A. D. 628. When Yuan - Chang visited Bhinnamāla about the year 642 A. D. a young Kshatriya was reigning there. From the copper-plate of Pulakeṣi Avanijanāṣraya dated in the Kalachuri year 490= A. D. 739, we find that the Chāvoṭakas were afflicted by the Arabs, about that time. In the opinion of Pandita Gaurisamkara Oza, the Chāvoṭakas were attacked at Bhinnamāla (p. 146 Rajputaneka Itihasa). The B. G. regards them as the Chāvadās of Panchāsara (p. 149 - 50). The mention of Chāvoṭakas, in the grant, after Saindhavas Kachhhelas and Saurāshtras

would support the opinion of the B. G.; for Panchāsara is on the border of Kachchha, Kāthiawād, and Gujarāta. This would mean that the Chāvadās were rulers in northern Gujarat up to the year 739 A. D. and that for some reason, not known to us, they had changed their capital from Bhinnamāla to Panchāsara. After that time, they might have been deprived of their power by Pratihāras who must have given them a severe defeat at Panchāsara slaying their king in battle. This event must have driven the Chavadas to become outlaws against the Pratihāras who though, at that time were rulers at Bhinnamāla, became soon after emperors at Kānyakubja, and were, therefore, taken in later tradition, as the kings of Kānyakubja. The Chāvaḍas avenged themselves by robbing and killing the officers of the reigning king and when they had sufficient means founded a kingdom with Aṇahilavāda as its capital. If we accept the traditional date of V. S. 752=A. D. 696 for the birth of Vanarāja, his age would be about 43 years when this event might have taken place. According to the chronology of the P. C. he founded Aṇahila-vāda in the V. S. year 802=A. D. 746. But if we do not accept the rather unusually long age of 109 years given to him by the P. C. and suppose him to be born in the year V. S. 796 = 740 A. D. in a forest, he would be about 66 years old at the time of his death in the year V. S. 862 = A. D. 806. But even if we accept the traditional chronology, there is nothing unusual in supposing that after his father was slain in battle, say in the year 740. A. D. he might have lived as an outlaw against the new power for

about six years, and after avenging himself by robbing and killing the officers of the new power, he might have established an independent kingdom at Aṇahilavāda.

I must, however, confess that this supposition about the connection of Vanarāja Chāvada with the Chāpas of Bhinnamāla and of their defeat at Panchāsara at the hands of Pratihāras, though not improbable, is one, which requires more evidence to be accepted as an historical fact.

Whatever may be the antecedents of Vanarāja, all authorities agree on the point that he established the kingdom of Aṇahilavāda by founding a city on a site shown to him by one Aṇahilla – the son of Bhāruyāḍa Sākhada – that is Sākhaḍa the shepherd (P. C. p. 13).* From the play Moharājāparājaya of Yaṣahpāla, we learn, "Formerly the king Ṣrī Vanarāja observing the good features of the land founded a city on it" (Act III p. 67). In the same play Kumārapāla is addressed as one enjoying the kingship earned by Ṣrī Vanarāja (Act IV, p. 108). The story, (or as Abhayatilakagaṇī in his commentary on the Dvyāṣraya puts it 'loka-sruti', that is, the hearsay of the people) goes that as Vanarāja was looking for a place fit for the brave, he, on promising that the city would be named after the shepherd, was shown a piece of land where a powerful hound was being harassed by a fox

* According to the Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa of Jinaprabha there was formerly a town named Lakkhārāma (=Sk. Lakshārāma) on the bank of the river Sarasvatī. This town was the site on which Aṇahilavāda Pattana was founded. (……लकखारामे सरस्सई नईतडे । पुव्विं अणहिल्लवाडयपट्टणनिवेसट्ठाणं किर तं आसि। (p. 51. V. T. K.).

(The D. K. canto I, V. 4). The same story is repeated by the the P. C. and other works substituting a hare for the fox. *

The resources for establishing a kingdom Vanaraja obtained according to the P. C., by becoming nominally a spear-man of the Kānyakubja-power (according to our supposition of the Pratihāras of Bhinnamāla), and then waylaying and killing in a mountain - pass called Surāshṭra the tax-collector as he was returning to the capital with six months' revenue from Gujarāta which amounted to twenty-four lacs of Pāruthakadrammas (probably Parthian gold coins) and four thousand horses of the Tejas breed.

The city was founded by building a dhavalagṛha (literally White house, i. e. a Royal Court or palace) under a Jāli tree. He was crowned king on Monday the second of the bright half of the month of Vaiṣākha in the year 802 after Ṣrī Vikramārka. The Tilaka ceremony (making an auspicious red - mark on the fore - head) was performed by his adopted sister Ṣrīdevī, the sister of a merchant of Kākara village. When Vanarāja was an outlaw, he went to the house of this merchant on a thieving expedition, but turned back from the place as his hand accidentally got wet in a pot of curds. This was equal to dining at the place and according to the ethics of the outlaws, he could not rob a house where he had dined. On the next day, he was called secretly at night by Ṣrīdevī who treated him with sisterly affection. He was treated to a dinner and given a dress. Vanarāja promised

* Similar stories are told about the founding of Ahmedabad and other cities.

her that she will perform the Tilaka ceremony which is a sister's privilege at the time of his coronation. He kept the promise.

He made one Jāmba, a merchant, his Mahāmātya, i. e. the principal minister. As the story goes, Vanarāja with his companions met him in a jungle when he was an outlaw. Jāmba had five arrows with him, but broke the two of them in their presence. When asked the reason, he said that three arrows were sufficient for the three of them. Vanarāja was naturally impressed with the man and tested his skill by asking him to shoot at a flying object which he did to his satisfaction.

How much historical reality there is in these stories, we cannot definitely say. Looking to the times and surroundings, they are not at all improbable.

The colophon at the end of the Neminathachariu supplies us with more reliable information which is important as indicating the way in which Vanarāja tried to make his city prosperous and strengthen his kingdom.

It says "There is a family called Poruyāḍa (S. Prāgvāṭa) originally of the city of Sirimāla (S. Ṣrīmāla). The family is a treasure of excellent men (lit. Māṇikya – rubies – amongst men) of innumberable virtues." This family which owned elephants, horses, and a rich store of merchandise came to the town of Gambhuya (a place near Aṇahilapura Patana). In that family, there was a famous rich merchant-prince named Thakkura Ninnaya. On one occasion, the king, (i. e. Vanaraja) who looked upon him as a father (janayabuddhie) took him to his own Anahillapāḍa (that is Ninnaya was requested to reside in his own

capital of Aṇahillapāṭaka). There, Ninnaya built a temple of Ṛshabha – the first Tīrthamkara of the Jainas.

This Ninnaya had a son named Lahara who was a general of the armies of Vanarāja. This Lahara went to the Vindhya Mountains and caught many elephants; he also defeated many kings 'with the intention of taking away their elephants.' He was a devotee of the goddess Vindhyavāsinī in whose honour he built a temple in a village called Sandathala. Lahara believed that it was the favour of this goddess who entered his bow (dhanush) which enabled him to conquer his enemies easily. The author of the Praṣasti tells us that the goddess is known there after the name of Lahara – Dhanuhāvī (because she was the presiding deity of his dhanush (i. e. bow). Lahara presented his elephants to Vanarāja who 'being satisfied with his work' rewarded him with the grant of the village Sandathala.

This geneologist of the Prāgvāṭa family tells us that Lahara was favoured both by the goddess Lacchi-Lakshmī and the goddess Sarasai – Sarasvatī – that is – he was favoured both by Fortune and Learning.

This account enables us to imagine as to how Vanarāja got the help of powerful and rich persons in strengthening his army and treasury.

We learn from the Prabandhachintāmaṇi that Vanarāja invited Ṣilaguṇasūri from Panchāsara and showed his gratitude by requesting him to occupy his throne and accept his whole kingdom which naturally the sage refused. At his suggestion, however, he built a chaitya – a temple – which was known as the Panchāsara chaitya in which the idol of Pārṣvanātha

– the twenty – third Tīrthamkara – brought from Panchasara was consecreted. According to the Prabandhachintāmaṇi, the king placed his own statue in the pose of worship in this temple. The statue printed in the Rasmala is supposed to be this statue. Its authenticity, however, is doubtful. Arisimha also refers to this temple as if it were a mountain. Vanarāja built also another temple in honour of the goddess Kaṇṭeṣvarī or Kaṇṭheṣvarī known as Kanṭeṣvarī–prāsāda.

The Prabandhachintāmaṇi says that Vanarāja reigned for more than 59 years and lived for 109 years.

We have no information as to the extent of his dominions.

According to our three authorities on the Chāpotkaṭa dynasty, the Sukṛtasamkīrtana, the P. C. and the Vichāraṣreṇī, Vanarāja was succeeded by his son Yogarāja. In his reign, ships of a foreign king laden with rich cargo were driven by storm to Somanātha Pattana in Saurāshṭra. His son Kshemarāja requested the king to permit him to take possession of these foreign ships. There were ten thousand horses of the Tejas breed, eighteen elephants and crores of other things in the ships. " They will carry all these things to their country through our country. If your Majesty orders, the whole of it will be brought here." (P.C.p.14)

Yogarāja, however, forbade it. But Kshemarāja and his younger brother, thinking that the king had grown senile took passession of this foreign property as it was being carried through the boundary of their kingdom. This may be the boundary between Kathiawad and main – land Gujarata. When Yogarāja heard this news, he was deeply affected by this misdeed

of his sons; for he was trying to wipe off the bad name that attached to his dynasty as that of the Charaṭas or robbers. He fasted unto death for the sins of his sons. According to A and D mss of the P. C. Yogarāja ruled for more than ten years, while according to V. Sreṇī 9 years. In the other mss of the P. C. he is credited with a reign of 35 years and a life of 120 years. If we accept, however, the version of A. D. mss which agrees approximately with that of V. S. in different regnal years and in order of succession those of the S. S. and the V. S. we can deduct twenty-five years from 12o years of his life. That will give him a life of about 95 years.

He built a temple in honour of the goddess Bhaṭṭārikā Ṣrī Yogeṣvarī known as B. S. Y.-Prāsāda.

Following our three authorities which agree in the order of succession we find that there were in all eight kings of the Chāpotkaṭa dynasty and that their rule lasted for 190 years according to the P. C. and 196 years according to the V. S. Of these, the seventh king Āgaḍa who is called Āhaḍa by the S. S., built two temples, one known as Āgadeṣvara-prāsāda probably dedicated to Ṣiva and the other known as Kanṭeṣvarī-prāsada dedicated to the goddess Kanṭeṣvari in whose honour, as we saw, Vanarāja had also built a temple.

The eighth king Bhūyagada who is called Ṣrī Bhūbhaṭa by the S. S. built a temple known as Bhuyagadeṣvara-prāsāda He, to protect the city, built also, a wall round the city of Aṇahilāvaḍa Pattana which is called here only Ṣrī Pattana.

According to the S. S. he was succeeded by his sister's son who belonged to the Chaulukya family.

From the cultural point of view, two things may be noted. One of them is Yogarāja's refusal to take possession of the foreign property and fasting unto death for the sins of his sons though he could kill them as none of them could bend the bow which he did easily. The other is the building of Devaprāsādas or palaces dedicated to gods. The wall round the city of Aṇahilavāda must have been a magnifiscent thing, because as we shall see later on, it had specially attracted the attention of the poets.

According to a verse quoted in the P. C. the kingdom of the Gurajars from the time of Vanarāja onward was made firm by Jain counsels. It is a question how much of this claim is historically valid. The official religion of the kings was, no doubt, Ṣaiva and Ṣākta. But the influential persons in the state, the rich Mahājanas, for example–men like Thakkura Ninnaya of the Prāgvāṭa family whom Vanaraja invited to live in Anahilavāda, were, probably, most of them Jainas. They occupied high posts in the state, – many of them were Mantris or Councillors and some of them like Vimalasāha were Daṇḍanāyakas – commanders of army and then governors of districts. So from this point of view, the claim may be regarded as valid – at least partially. As, however, we shall see later on there was nothing characteristically Jaina as far as their political life was concerned. The rivalries of the priests of different sects, it appears, was always kept in check by the rulers of the state.

13

The total absence of contemporary inscriptional evidence of the Chāvaḍā period is somewhat relieved

in the Solanki period. Luckily a number of copper-plate-grants and some stone-inscriptions have been discovered which help us in piecing together the history of the period.

The literary material of the period is in greater abundance. In addition to the books mentioned for the Chāvaḍa period which also supply us with material for the Solanki period, we have the Samskṛta and the Prākṛta Dvyāṣrayas of Hemachandra himself. The other name of the S. D. is Chaulukyavamṣotikīrtana that is An Account of Chaulukya family and that of the P. D. is Kumārapāla charitam, that is the Life of Kumārpāla. Next to the contemporary inscriptions, these two epics of twenty cantos and eight cantos each respectively are our most reliable sources for the history of the period not only political but social also. The two commentaries on the two works, one that of Abhayatilakagaṇi and the other that of Pūrṇakalaṣagaṇi elucidate many historical points. The Kīrtikaumudī of Someṣvara Bhatta, the friend of the minister Vastupāla gives in the first two cantos, descriptions of Aṇahilavāda-Pattana and of the lake Sahasralinga and a short account of the Solankis or Chaulukyas. The Prabhvākacharita (V. S. 1334 = A. D. 1278) of Prabhāchandra in addition to the life of Hemachandra refers to some events of the Solanki period when narrating the lives of contemporary great men of the Jain sect. The other contemporary works will be noted at their proper places. For the chronology of the period our main sources are the P. C. and the V. S. The dates of the inscriptions and those of colophons supplement this chronology.

How the kingdom of Anahillavāda passed from the hands of Chāvaḍas to those of Solankis, remains, as yet, an obscure question. The Vadnagara inscription of Kumārapāla simply says that the Rājyakamalā (Royal power) of Chāpotkaṭa kings became of her own accord his slave.' The Moharājaparājaya tells us that the family of Yādavas and the family of Vanarāja were destroyed through drinking (p. 109). Madyaṣekhara the personification of intoxicating drinks in the same play says "He was fondled for a long time in the royal palaces of Chāvukkaḍa (or Chāvaḍā) kings (p. 108). The Sukṛtasamkīrtana of Arisiṃha simply tells us that after Bhūbhaṭa, his sister's son Mūlarāja came to the throne. The D. K. is altogether silent on the point. The P. C. supplies the deficiency by giving the following account.

Three brothers named Rāja, Bīja and Dandaka, sons of Munjāla of the family of Ṣri Bhūyarāja of Kānykubja, while returning from their pilgrimage to Somanātha came to Aṇahillapura. Rāja managed to marry the sister of Sāmantasimha named Līlādevī. She died when she was in a state of pregnancy. An operation was performed upon her and the child brought out of the womb. As he was born under the influence of Mūla constellation, he was called Mūlarāja. When the boy grew up his maternal uncle Sāmantasimha under the influence of drink used to play with him by temporarily making a king of him. On one occasion, seeing his opportunity, Mūlarāja killed his maternal uncle and usurped the throne with the help of his party (P. C. p. 16). The bards also relate a similar story with a few variations.

From all these accounts, we can infer that Mūlarāja Solanki must have forcibly taken the kingdom of the Chavaḍas. It is highly probable that he might have been the sister's son of the last king as Arisimha relates. That drunkenness had something to do with it – was the belief of the people in the time of Kumārapāla.

In his copper-plate-grant dated V. S. 1043=A. D. 987 discovered from Kaḍi, Mūlarāja is called Chaulkikānvayo Mahārajādhirāja Ṣrī Mūlarājaḥ Mahārājādhirāja. Ṣrī Rājisutaḥ. This means that he belonged to the Chaulkika dynasty and his father was Mahārājādhirāja Ṣrī Rāji. If this title of the father is not given to him on account of the greatness of the son we must conclude that Rāji was also a king. He is called Rājibhū – that is son of Raji in the D. K. (V. 92,30). In canto III v. 99 Hemachandra calls him the son of the brother of Daḍhakka! This means that one of the brothers of Rāji was called Daḍhakka. Abhayatilakagaṇi in the commentary gives the names of the three brothers as Rāji, Bīja and Daḍhakka. In the D. K. itself I have not found the name of Bīja.

In Canto I v. 188 of the D. K. Mūlarāja is called Chanḍikāmāta. The commentator explains it as one whose mother was queen Chāndaladevī. * Līlādevī of the P. C. may be another name or a mistaken Samskritized rendering of the Prākṛta of Chāndaladevī.

According to the chronology of the P. C., Mūlarāja regined from V. S. 998 to V. S. 1053 (A. D. 942-997).

We have three copper-plate grants of Mularāja

* According to the alternative explanation Chaṇḍikā would refer to the goddess Gaurī.

and one that of Chāmuṇḍarāja issued by him as heir-apparent in the reign of Mūlarāja. The first is dated in V. S. 1030 - Bhādrapada sud 5. This grant is not yet published. The late Dr. H. H. Dhruva, in his article, in the Vienna Oriental Journal (Vol. V, p. 300 - 1) gave information about this copper - plate. The grant refers to a piece of land of Palaḍiyagrāma in the Gambhūta viṣaya (district). The grantee is one Vacchakāchārya. The occasion is the bathing-ceremony after solar eclipse. The lekhaka or writer of this grant is one Kela and the Dūtaka is Mahāsāndhivigrahika Ṣrī Jaya.

After this comes the copper - plate - grant of Chāmuṇḍarāja. This was recently discovered. A photograph of the copper-plate was sent by Diwan Bahadur K. H. Dhruva to Muni Jinavijayaji who has very kindly supplied me with its transcription in modern Devanāgari script. This copper-plate grant is important from many points of view. The first is its Samvat which is Guptasaṁvat 1033. Now this is not the real Gupta Samvat, but it shows that in later times, these Samvat names were used indifferently. Sometimes Vikrama samvat was called Gupta samvat as in this particular case. *

Another point of importance is that Mūlarāja married Ṣrī Mādhavī, the daughter of Chāhamāna king Bhoja and that Chāmuṇḍa Rāja was born of her.

The most important point in the information that this copper - plate supplies, is, however, about the geneology of Mūlarāja. The P. C., as we saw, gives

* It may be noted that in the opinion of some scholars Vikrama saṁvat and Gupta saṁvat are identical.

Munjāla as the name of Mūlarāja's father. The Kumārapāla - prabandha and the Ratnamālā name some of his ancestors as:--Bhūyaḍa - Karṇāditya - Chandrāditya - Somāditya - Bhuvanāditya and Rāja. The Kumārapālacharita of Jayasimhasūri, however, gives a different account. 'In the city of Madhūpaghna, there was formerly a king named Chulukya. The descendants of this king were known as Chālukyas. Among his descendants there was one Sahajarāma who had a cavalry-force of three lacs of horses, and who defeated the lord of Ṣakas on the battle - field. This Sahajarāma had a son named Daḍakka or Danḍakka who got a victory over the king of Pipāsā. This Daḍakka had a son named Kānchivyāla who had a son named Rāji who was the father of Mūlarāja.' Thus Kānchivyāla was the name of the grand - father of Mūlarāja. Whether this Kanchivyāla was the same person as Munjāla or a different person we do not know. It is possible to interpret the term Kānchivyāla as meaning the Vyāla of Kānchi — that is the mad - elephant, tiger or king of Kānchi. It is therefore likely that Kānchivyāla might have been an honorofic title of Munjāla extolling some of his exploits. However that may be, the name of Kānchivyāla receives corroboration from the copper - plate under discussion. It says that Mūlarāja was in the line of Ṣrī Vyāla-Kānchi.

श्लाघ्यः चौलुक्यराजवंशतिलकश्रीव्यालकाञ्चिप्रभोः ।
सन्ताने त्रिदशेन्द्रतुल्यमहिमा श्रीमूलराजो नृपः ॥

It need not be said that Ṣrī Vyāla - Kānchi is the same as Ṣrī Kānchi - Vyāla.

Thus we come to know definitely that Ṣrī Vyāla-Kānchi was an ancestor of Mūlarāja.

16

The question whether the Chālukyas of Gujerat came from the north or the south still remains unsettled. Madhūpaghna of the king Chulukya can be identified with Mathura, but it might as well indicate Madurā in the south. Pipāsā may be identified with Biasā. But Kānchi, however, tempts one to guess that the Chālukyas or Solankis of Gujarāta came from the south. *

The grant authorizes a field near the village Varuṇādiṣarmmakapura (modern Vadasania) to be given to a Jaina temple for incense, lights, and flowers. This is also significant as we shall see later on. The grant contains the signatures of five ṣrāvakas. It ends Ṣrī Chāmuṇḍarājasya mama matam. This style of signing is still prevalent in Gujarāta.

The third grant is dated V. S. 1043 Māgha Vadi 5 Sunday (A. D. 987). It begins, Rājāvali - pūrvam. This would mean that the previous royal line should be taken as understood. It may, however, indicate that Mūlarāja might not have liked any reference to the previous Chāvaḍa kings. It compares the king to Rājahamsa, Brahmā, Vishṇu, Ṣiva, Indra Kalpavṛksha, Meru, Ocean, Cloud and the Elephant of Indra. In the comparision of Rājahamsa by a pun upon the word Paksha which means a wing and a side we are made to understand that both the sides - paternal and maternal of the king were pure.

We have already referred to this copper - plate as giving the name of his father Mahārājādhirāja Rājī. The grant is issued from Ṣrīmad Aṇahilapāṭaka. It was given at the time of the bath in the waters of Prāchī

* See Jinavijyaji's learned presidential address to the historical section of the twelfth Gujarāti Sāhitya - parishad, pp. 9 - 11.

Sarasvatī at Ṣrīsthala after the solar eclipse and the worship of the god of Rudramahālaya the lord of the gods. A village named Kamboika in the Modhera Ardhāshṭama in the Sārasvata Maṇḍala is given to the temple of Ṣrī Mūlanāthadeva in Mandali in the district of Vardhi (or Vadh).

The writer of the grant is one Kanchana – a son of Kāyastha Jejja. It ends Ṣrī Mūlarājasya. The grant was personally given by the king. The third copper-plate (which was published in the E. I. Vol. X) is dated V. S. 1051 Māgha sudi 15. Mūlarāja is called Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Ṣrī Mūlarāja Deva. The occasion is Lunar eclipse. A village named Varṇaka in the district of Satyapura is given to Ṣrī Dīrghachārya son of Durlabhāchārya, a learned Brāhmaṇa of Kānyakubja. The grant is written by Kāyastha Kanchana probably the same as the writer of the previous one. The Dūtaka is Mahattama Ṣrī Ṣivarāja. The grant ends as usual with the signature of the king.

Hemachandra has described at length two main events of the life of king Mūlarāja: one – his fight with Grāharipu of Vāmanasthalī and his powerful ally Laksha of Kachchha; the other–his fight against Dvārapa lord of Lāṭa. In the second fight, it was his son Chāmuṇḍa who led the army against Lāṭa.

The name of Ṣrī Mūlarāja is mentioned in the verse 135 of the first canto of the Dvyāsṛaya, the preceding 131 verses being devoted to the description of Aṇahillapura – which is given in graphic detail – not all conventional. He is called Chālukyakulachandramā – the moon of the family of Chālukyas.

It appears from verse 144 that Mūlarāja was of ṣyāma, i. e. dark complexion as also was his grand-son Durlabha (v. 60 Canto VII). The family deity of the Chālukyas was Ṣrī Somanātha – that is god Ṣiva whose image was consecrated in a temple at Somanātha Pattana or Prabhāsa Pattana in Kāthiawād one of the most ancient holy places of pilgrimage of India known even to the Mahābhārata-as we have seen before. Any thing of importance that Mūlarāja did was supposed to be at the suggestion of the god Somanātha. So we find Hemachandra saying that it was at the suggestion of the god Ṣambhu who appeared to him in a dream that he undertook the expedition against Grāharipu. He consults Jambaka and Jehula, two of his main counsellors. According to Abhayatilakāgaṇi, Jambaka was his Mahāmantrin while Jehula – the Rāṇaka of Khairalu was his Mahāpradhāna. Jehula recounts the misdeeds of Grāharipu in detail – the main being his harassment of the pilgrims and the sacrilege of the holy places by killing and eating the sacred animals. His treatment of the defeated enemies is referred to as not worthy of a Kshatriya. In short he is described as an incarnation of the devil. So Jehula advises the king immediately to send a general without even sending an envoy for the formal declaration of hostilities.

Jambaka agrees with Jehula so far as subjugating Grāharipu is concerned. He describes the strongly fortified position of the enemy, as the mountain is only at a distance of Krosa while the sea is at a distance of Yojana from his capital. + He also refers to his constant watchfulness and his powerful ally

Laksha of Kachha, the son of Phulla and requests the king to proceed personally against these Ābhiras if he wants victory (verse 103–108–09). In an open meeting, the decision is taken to proceed against Grāharipu of Vāmanasthalī. Mūlarāja is glad that he has an occasion to fight.

The fight takes place on the river Jambu–māli which can be identified with the river Bhogāvo in Kāthiawada, on whose bank there is a place called Jambu near Limbdi. Some of the allies of Mūlarāja are the kings of Meru, Kāṣi, Arbuda and many Bhilla tribes referred to as eighteen Bhūta jātis (C. IV 79).* For two days the battle continued indecisively. On

+ Abhayatilakagaṇi says that here 'krosa and yojana' are not to be taken literally but as merely suggesting very small distances, because 'the mountain is at a distance of seven Krosasas while the sea is at a distance of five yojans from Vāmanasthalī. If there was any other capital of Grāharipu at a distance of a Krosa from the mountain and a yojana from the sea, I do not know." A very frank confession worthy of a historian!

* It appears that the author of the B. G. has not correctly understood some verses of the D. K. bearing on this context. It says ' Mūlarāja had also his own younger brother Gangāmaha etc. (p. 160). Now Mūlarāja had no brother of that name. The verse which appears to be the basis of this information is the second verse of Canto II of the D. K. It simply means Gangāmaha and his youger brother who, as the commentary says, were Mularājanrpau – that is two kings on the side of Mūlarāja – rose to fight. These two brothers were reigning in Gangāpura probably a place in Rajaputānā. Then again the B. G. says "It is specially mentioned that in this expedition Mūlarāja received no help from the sons of his paternal uncle Bīja and Daṇdaka" (p. 160). I have found no

the third day Mūlarāja personally went into the thick of the battle on his elephant with two quivers filled with missiles. Grāharipu in a frenzy of rage mounted the elephant of Mūlarāja. In the combat Mūlarāja succeeded in throwing Grāharipu down from his elephant. Mūlarāja then jumped from the elephant and tied Grāharipu with ropes and thus made a prisoner of him. (IV 100 - 103).

Then Laksha of Kachchha dressed in white rushed towards Mūlarāja and insulted him by abusing and calling him Mūla. In a deadly combat Mūlarāja pierced Laksha with his spear and killed him there and then.×

Queens of Grāharipu with their children come to Mūlarāja and request him to release their husband which Mūlarāja does. From there, Mūlarāja goes to Somanātha and worships the god Somanātha. According to the commentator, it was Ṣivarātri (V. 139) when he recited his prayers.

Mūlarāja returned to his capital with one hundred and eight elephants within five or six days.

The cause of war with Dvārapa of Lāṭa is given as the insult Dvārapa offered to Mūlarāja by sending

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reference to the sons of Bīja and Dandaka in the Dvyāśraya. Bīja is not even mentioned. The verse in which the name of Dadhakka occurs is 99 Canto III. It rather means 'who did not serve Daḍhakka's brother's son by following him?' The meaning is – everybody followed Mūlarāja who was the son of Raji brother of Daḍhakka.

× In spite of its uncouth grammatical language, it must be confessed, Hemachandra has described the fight with great vigour. In fact, we may remark in passing, that the Dvyāṣraya has considerable poetic merit of vigour and graphic description which is however hidden under its forbidding grammatical garb.

him as a present an ominous elephant. The matter was discussed and an expedition against Lāṭa was decided upon. Prince Chāmuṇḍa who had listened in the temple of Śiva to the heroic deeds of Arjuna described by Vyāsa (VI 6) was spoiling for a fight. So he was made the General of his army though Mūlarāja accompanied him (44). Śvabhravatī or the river Sābaramatī was the northern boundry of Lāṭa. As the army encamped on the river, people began to flock to Bharucha, the capital of Lāṭa. Prince Chāmuṇḍa defeated Lāṭa. The event is described by calling Chāmuṇḍa 'the hurricane which uprooted the tree in the form of the king of the southern bank' (VI 99).

The Sukṛtasamkīrtanana first describes the defeat of Bārapa whom he calls the Dandanātha general or governor of the king of Kānyakubja (II – 5) and then refers to the defeat of the army of Laksha Kacchapa – that is Lord of Kachchha. The war with Grāharipu is referred to as a war with Laksha by all subsequent writers probably because he was killed in battle. The K. K. refers also to these two wars with Bārapa and the ambitious Kachchha king Laksha. It, however, calls Bārapa the general of the king of Lāṭa. The P. C. describes these events a bit differently. According to it Mūlarāja was simultaneously attacked on one side by the king of Sapādalaksha and on the other by Bārapa who is called the general of the king of Telangadeṣa. This fight with the king of Sapādalaksha is not referred to by Hemachandra, but we find the king of Maru as Mūlarāja's ally in his fight against Grāharipu.

The P. C. also without referring to Grāharipu

refers to Lākha or Laksha whose mother cursed Mūlarāja with a skin - disease called luti, because he touched the moustache of the dead hero lying on the battlefield with his foot.

From his copper-plate of V. S. 1051, and the information from literary sources discussed just now, we can form the following idea of Mūlarāja's dominions at the end of his reign. In the north, his sway extended as far as Satyapura or Sāchora in the Jodhapura state; in the west, it extended to Saurāshṭra and Kachcha and in the south up to the river Narmadā, and in the east probably as far as Godhara.

From his copper-plate of this V. S. 1043, we learn that Rūdramahālaya was already built at Ṣrīsthala on the river Sarasvatī, so also a temple of Ṣiva known as Ṣrī Mūlanāthadeva was built in Mandalī (Māndala) for whose benefit the grant is given. The P. C. informs us that Mūlarāja first built two temples of Ṣiva in Ṣrīpattana, that is Anahillapura - one known as Ṣrī Mularājavasahikā and the other in honour of Ṣrī Munjāladeva - on the authority of the P. C. - his grand father - known as Ṣrī Munjāladevaprāsāda. Mūlarāja, being a great devotee of Somanātha, the P. C. tells us, used to go every Monday to Someṣvara - pattana. The god being greatly pleased with his devotion came to Mandalī, so Mularāja built there a temple known as Muleṣvara - prasāda to which, as we saw, the grant of V. S. 1043 (987 A. D.) is given. Being further pleased with his devotion, the god came to Aṇahillapura; and so Mūlarāja built another temple known as Tripurusha-prāsāda - probably to commemorate the three brothers Rāji, Daḍhakka and Bīja who are known to the

tradition as the three ādi-purushas i. e. original persons of the dynasty; or it might simply mean that it was a temple of the trinity of Ṣiva, Vishṇu and Brahmā.

The S. S. K. also refers to Mūlarāja's visiting Somanātha every Monday and to his building three Ṣambhu temples (II – 3, 4).

According to the D. K. Mūlarāja after consulting his ministers, Purohitas, and astrologers gave the throne to his son Chāmuṇda and himself retired to Ṣrīsthala that is Siddhapura on the Sarasvatī and ended his life by sacrificing his body in fire. The S. S. K. and the P. C. refer to similar incidents.

Here we may refer to the important persons of Mūlarāja's reign. Hemachandra mentions Jambaka, and Jehula the chief of Kheralu, as his principal ministers. The grant of V. S. 1051 (995 A. D.) describes the grantee Ṣrī Dīrghāchārya-son of Ṣrī Durlabhāchārya originally of Kānyakubja as 'aṣeshavidyāpāraga' that is 'master of all departments of learning' and 'taponidhi' (lit. ocean of austerities) that is a 'great ascetic.' The name of Mūlarāja's Mahāsāndhivigrahaka-great minister of peace and war-was Ṣrī Jaya who was the gift-causer of the grant of V. S. 1030 (974 A. D.).

From the colophon of the Nemināthachariu, we learn that in the Prāgvāṭa family of Ninnaya and Lahara was born one Vīra who was a minister in the reigns of Mūlarāja, Chāmuṇda, Vallabha and Durlabha. He was in charge of the Tankaṣālā that is the mint where he made coins in the image of Lakshmī.

From the Surathotsava of Someṣvara, we learn that Ṣrī Sola-ṣarman was the Purohita of Mūlarāja. He performed the great sacrifice known as Vājapeya.

The great ascetic Kanthaḍi and his disciple Vayajalladeva, whose account is narrated by the P. C., may also be mentioned as two opposite types of Yogis who represent peculiar religious attitudes which have affected the religious consciousness of Gujarāta. Kanthaḍi, when requested by Mūlarāja, refused to become the head of the Royal Temple of the Tripurusha - prāsāda and preferred to remain a recluse; while his disciple Vayajalladeva consented to take charge of the temple if he would be provided with means to enjoy life in a royal style whlch included thirty-two beautiful women to sing and dance before him. The queen of Mūlarāja thought that a man living such a life could not be chaste and so tested his character by trying to ensnare him with her feminine charms. But Vayajalladeva proved superior to these attractions and punished the queen for her frivolity.

This story may be real or may be purely a myth but it does represent a peculiar type of men which existed in those days and which in its weaker instances has proved to be the bane of religious institutions of India. ×

According to the chronology of the P. C., Ṣrī Chāmuṇdarāja reigned for thirteen years from V. S. 1053 - to 1066 = A. D. 997 to 1010. We have already referred to his copper - plate - grant of the pseudo - Gupta Samvat 1033 (= A. D. 977) which sanctioned a field to be given to a Jaina temple. His conquest of Lāṭa we have also mentioned.

× Compare the story of Nannasūri teaching the KāmaṢāstra of Vātsyāyana in his Chaitya in the Prabhāvakacharita (pp. 161 - 163).

No important event of his reign is described by the Dvyāṣraya. The Vadanagara – praṣasti of Kumārapāla informs us that he defeated Sindhurāja whom we cannot exactly identify. He may probably be Vārapa of Lāṭadeṣa – the word Vārapa literally meaning 'lord of waters'. According to the D. K. he had three sons: *Vallabharāja, Durlabharāja and Nāgarāja. When* referring to their education, Hemachandra mentions their training and proficiency in managing horses and elephants.

About the birth of these princes the Prabhāvaka-charita gives some significant information. Chāmuṇḍarāja was very much troubled by the fact that his queens always suffered from mis-carriage. He once mentioned this anxiety of his mind to his minister Vīra. (This Vīra was the same as mentioned by the N. C. Colophon). Vīra consulted his religious preceptor Ṣrī Vīrasūri. He gave him some charmed fragrant powder and directed that the queens should sprinkle themselves with it. After this treatment 'Ṣrīmad Vallabharāja and other sons were born' (The Pr. C. verses 136–148 pp. 213–14). According to the same book, Chāmuṇḍarāja had met previously Ṣrī Vīrasūri whose sermons he had heard and of whose miraculous power he was aware. This incident together with his grant to a Jaina temple may be taken as signifying some Jaina influence on the king.

The Dvyāṣraya tells us that the prince Vallabha-rāja with the permission of the king Chāmuṇḍarāja led an expedition against Mālavā, but on the way he was attacked with an incurable disease (which according to the commentatory was small–pox) and died of it. The generals very tactfully retreated the army

and came back to Aṇahillapura. The king was deeply touched with this sad incident and retired to the holy place of Ṣuklatīrtha on the bank of the Narmadā, after giving the crown to his second son Durlabharāja. (C. VII verses 1 – 58 .

The commentator Abhayatilakāgaṇi while commenting on the verse 31 of the C. VII narrates a different tale. Chāmuṇḍarāja became sexually very loose, so his sister Vāchiṇīdevī managed to remove him from the throne and give it to Vallabharāja. Chāmuṇḍarāja, smarting under this disgrace, proceeded to Benares, but was attacked in Mālavā and robbed of his umbrella and other royal insignia. He returned to Aṇahillapura and asked his son Vallabha to march against Mālavā. The commentator says "As such an incident would not be worthy of the person described, the incident is merely suggested by saying that 'he took the permission of his father' (p. 531). There may be some grain of reality in this story and if we read it in connection with the fact that his queens always mis-carried we are tempted to guess that Chāmuṇḍa may have suffered from some foul sexual disease.

The P. C., however, refers this incident of being robbed of royal insignia to Durlabharāja. It was Munja of Mālava who perpetrated this insult. Merutunga says "From that time onward hereditary enmity was formed between kings of Mālava and Gujarāta. According to the A.ms of the P. C. Ṣrī Chāmuṇḍa–rāja built two temples presumably of Ṣiva., one known as Chandanātha–devaprāsāda and the other Chāchiṇeṣvara–devaprāsāda (p. 20). The second may very well be Vāchiṇeṣvara, (Va and Cha being written similarly in Devanāgarī).

In that case that temple would be in commemoration of his sister. Chanda also may be some relative.

Vallabharāja is mentioned after Chāmuṇḍa in the dynastic list, and is given a reign of six months. He earned two titles Rājamadanaṣamkara and Jagajjhampana or °kampana–meaning ' world–shaker.'

According to the D. K., however, Chāmuṇḍa was succeeded by his second son Durlabha, who according to the P. C. ruled for eleven years–from V. S. 1066 to 1077=A. D. 1010 – 1021. He was invited, narrates the D. K., to the Svayamvara of his sister Durlabhadevī by Mahendra – king of Maru. He went there with his younger brother Nāgarāja. He was chosen by the princess whom he married. Nāgarāja was married to the younger sister of Durlabhadevī named Lakshmī. A battle with the disappointed kings is also narrated (C. VII verses 66 – 142).

Durlabha is suggested to be of dark complexion in v. 60 of the same canto. In verse 64, there is a faint suggestion of Jaina influence–when Hemachandra says that Durlabha gave up Ekānta i. e. one–sidedness of out–look. According to the commentary of Abhaya-tiilakagaṇi, Durlabha built Jain temples (v. 63) and came under the influence of one Jineṣvarasūri (v.–64). *

According to the P. C. he built a lake, named after him, Durlabhasara., and according to the A.ms of the P. C. he built, in addition, in Ṣrīpattana a royal palace of seven floors with a building for treasury and for Ghaṭikā to keep time, and a stable for elephants. He also built a temple known as Ṣrī Madana-ṣamkara

* See also the Prabhāvakacharita p. 264.

prāsāda for the spiritual benefit of his brother Vallabharāja.

From the Surathotsava of Somesvara, we learn that Lallaşarman son of Solaşarman was the Purohita of Chāmuṇḍa and his son Şrī Munja–the Purohita of Durlabharāja.

The Dvyāsraya says 'Nāgarāja the younger brother had a son named Bhīma, and both Nāgarāja and Durlabha thought that they were discharged from 'parental debt' of producing a son (Pitruṇa).' This means that Durlabha had no issue and adopted Bhīma as his heir. Bhīma was brought up in the laps of Durlabha. The education of Bhīma is also described. He became a master of gymnastics.

Durlabha asked Bhīma to accept the throne which, however, he first refused. He requested that his father Nāgarāja should be made king. On both of them, however, pressing him, he mounted the throne. Both Durlabha and Nāga dedicated themselves to religious life and died soon after.

The P. C. gives Bhīma 42 or 43 years' reign from V. S. 1077 – 78 to V. S. 1120 = A. D. 1021 – 1064. Three copper–plate–grants of his reign have been discovered – dated V. S. 1086 Kārtikka sudi 15 (A. D. 1029 – 30), Vaiṣākha sudi 15 of the same year (A. D. 1030), and Samvat 93 Chaitra Sudi 11, that is V. S. 1093=A. D. 1037. The first which is issued from Aṇahillapāṭaka gives a village called Masuragrāma in Ghadahaḍikādvādaṣa in the province of Kachchha. The grantee is one Bhattārka Ajāpāla – son of Āchārya Mangalaṣiva – originally of Navanikaka in the province of Kachchha.

The writer of the grant is Vaṭeṣvara – son of Kāyachcha (°stha). The Dūtaka is Ṣrī Chaṇḍaṣarmmā the great minister of peace and war.

The second is also issued from the capital, the writer and the Dūtaka being the same as the last one. The grant gives a field near Muṇḍakagrāma in Vardhivishaya (in the Vadhiar district) to one Vāsudeva son of Balabhadra – Udicha Brāhamaṇa – a Brahamaṇa from the north.

The third is dated Samvat 93. It may be that the figures to indicate thousand may have been left out or intentionally kept understood. The year intended is V. S. 1093. The writer and the Dūtaka of this grant are the same as those of the previous two. It is issued from Aṇahilapāṭaka and grants a field in the limits of a village called Sahasachānāgrāma in Kachchha. The grantee is one Govinda – son of Damodara of Vatsa-gotra originally of Prasannapura-sthāna. *

These grants indicate that Vaḍhiara and Cutch continued to remain within the jurisdiction of Aṇahilapāṭaka in the reign of Bhīma. I.

The Dvyāṣraya mentions the two main political events of his reign as the defeat and imprisonment of Hammuka – the ruler of Sindha and the acceptance of a freindly alliance by Karṇa – the king of Chedi whose other name is given as Kalachuri (v. 28, C. IX).

Two of his secret emmissaries, after their tour, come to Bhīma and inform him that the king of

* It is likely that the Brāhmaṇas reffered to in this grant are Praṣnora nāgars of Gujarata amongst whom Vatsagotra is common. Probably the word Praṣnorā has something to do with Prasannapura.

Sindha is planning to murder him; and that the ruler of Chedi is also becoming unfriendly. Bhīma after consulting his ministers first marches against Sindha. In verses 74–84 C. VIII. Hemachandra gives a graphic and vigorous description of the Sindhuvaha or 'flow of the Indus', and tells that the king of Sindha 'enjoys a quiet sleep', being protected by this watery barrier. Then the heroic effort of building a bandha, (a sort of a bund) is described poetically in verses 90 – 106 of the same canto. The army of Bhīma crosses the Indus and a royal battle ensues. Hammuka is defeated and imprisoned (124), and the horses of Bhīma graze on the grounds of Hammuka and his sugar–canes become the fodder of his elephants (125).

From Sindha, the conquering army marches towards Chedi. An envoy of Bhīma, whose name is given as Dāmodara by Hemachandra and who appears to be the same as the Mahāsāndhivigrahika Ḍāmara vipra of the P. C., approaches Karṇa–the king of Chedi, chewing beetle–leaf wifh camphor etc. in a lordly style and asks him on behalf of Bhīma whether he is a friend or a foe. Karṇa of Chedi chooses to be a friend and sends many presents to Bhīma including a suvarṇa–maṇḍapikā of Bhoja the famous king of Mālavā, which according to the commentary, Karṇa had won from Bhoja.

Bhīma returns to the capital welcomed by the ladies of the city. A son is born to him who was named Kshemarāja and was known as 'dhārmika' or religious amongst the people. He got another son named Karṇa.

Another important event of Bhīma's reign which

is not mentioned in the Dvyāṣraya or the P. C. may be narrated here. It is the sack of Somanātha which has been described at length by modern historians (see C. H. I. Vol. III pp. 23 – 26). It was believed that this event is nowhere mentioned or even suggested in Hindu accounts. This is, however, not correct. The event is referred to in an Apabhraṃsa poem of Dhanapāla and the V. T. K. of Jinaprabha. Muni Ṣrī Jinvijayaji–that great savant and researcher of the history of Gujarat–edited and published for the first time in his J. S. S. (Vol. III pp. 241 – 43) that poem in the Apabhramṣa language and in the Utsāha metre of the poet Dhanapāla–the author of the Tilakamanjarī. Dhanapāla was a court – poet of the famous king Bhoja of Dhārā a contemporary of Bhīma I. In this poem reference is made to the looting by the Turks, of Ṣrīmāla country, Aṇahilavāḍa, Chandrāvatī, Soraṭha, Devalavāḍa and 'Someṣvara pleasing to the mind of the people'. Thus this is an almost contemporaneous account. The V. T. K. refers in the Satyapūrakalpa to the looting of Gurjara country by Gajjanavi, that is the lord of Gajani in the V. S. 1081 = A. D. 1025 (p. 29). Both these references apply to the expedition of Mahamud Gajani.

It is, however, strange to find that no mention of the sacking of Somanātha is found in the Ta'rikh – i – Lamini of Al – 'Utbi who was a sort of Private Secretary to Mohmud. He wrote a good account of Mohumd's biography, and is definitely known to have lived four years after this event. Rasinuddin and Hamidulla who came after more than two hundred years and have written accounts of Mohmud also make no

mention of this account. The first Muslim historian to mention this event is Ibu Asir (about 1230 A. D.). From this absence of reference amongst early Muslim historians, we are driven to the conclusion that this expedition against Somanātha must not have been an event of that importance which it is reported to be by the later Muslim chroniclers upon whom the modern historians have almost uncritically relied. It might have been just the ordinary looting of a marauding army as the places came on its way. *

The K. K. and the S. S. K. mention the defeat of Bhoja at the hands of Bhīma which the D. K. does not directly mention. The Purātanaprabandha-samgraha and the P. C. describe incidents which refer to constant warfare between Mālava and Gujarāta – relieved by a few intervals of peace. An effort made by Bhoja to break the peace–treaty (Sandhidūshaṇa) is mentioned in the P. P. S. and the P. C. They also refer to an attack on Aṇahillapura by a general of Bhoja named Kulachandra or Phula° who was a Digambara Jaina. This event happened, according to the P. C., when Bhīma was engaged in his expedition against Sindha. This has made the 'stealing by Kulachandra' proverbial (p. 32. The P. C.). On another occasion Bhīma had to send his Minister of War and Peace Ḍāmara to avert a proposed expedition against Gujarata by Bhoja as there was famine. Ḍāmara managed this business very cleverly by instigating Bhoja to march against the southern king Tailapa who had beheaded his uncle Munja, and by spreading a rumour, as he was

* For a further discussion of this topic, see Jinavijaya's article Mahmud Gaznavi and Somanātha in the J. S. S. Vol. III pp. 252–257.

about to march that Bhīma was attacking Mālava and thus compelling Bhoja to sue for peace with a present to Bhīma of an elephant and his female. The P. C., lastly, mentions an attack by Karṇa of Chedi on Mālava when Bhīma assisted Karṇa as an ally. After Karṇa won in the battle, he refused to share the gains with Bhīma, so the latter sent Ḍāmara against Chedi who managed to get a share in the spoils from Karṇa. This is the same incident which Hemachandra describes in the D. K. and which enables us to identify Ḍāmara of the Prabandhas with Dāmodara of the D. K.

The P. P. S. and the P. C. relate many incidents which reveal a state of political and cultural rivalry between Gujarat and Mālava. Many of the stories in the P. C. turn round the uncommon wit and intelligence of the Brahmaṇa Minister for War and Peace–Ḍāmara or Dāmodara. He seems to be the Birbala of the P. C. ×

We are able to gather from the Prabhāvakacharita that already in the time of BhimaI Anahillapura has developped into a great centre of intellectual activity. The Prabhāvakacharita being devoted to the great men of Jaina religion naturally gives prominence to the learned men of that religion. But from the background it provides, we gather that poets and dialecticians of different sects from different parts of India visit the capital of Gurajaradeṣa. And even in the case of the learned men of the Jaina sect, their

× The uncommon wit and wisdom of Ḍāmara seems to have become almost proverbial in Gujarat; for we have still the habit of saying in the Gujarati language : डाह्यो डमरो थजे– 'Be a wise Ḍamaro !' For the famous well of Dāmodara see further on.

greatness is shown more by their proficiency in logic and the art of dialectics (Pramāṇaṣāstra), mastery of all the schools of philosophy (darṣanas), their thorough grounding in grammar and the science of language (ṣabdaṣāstra), and their cleverness in poetic compositions. Anybody familiar with Samskṛta Learning knows that these–Logic and Grammar, Philosophy and Literature are some of the main subjects that formed the common field of intellectual activity in India. And again as in the case of Ṣāntyāchārya and Surāchārya they often went to other kingdoms to fight the intellectual battle on behalf of their country.

The intellectual rivarly between Dhārā and Anahillapura was keen, and Bhoja and Bhima I always were jealous of the intellectual status of their courts. Bhoja in order to test the intelligence of Gurjaradeṣa (Gurjardeṣavijṇatā) so that he might see his opportunity for breaking the peace – treaty (sandhidūshanotpattaye) sends a gāthā – a stanza in Prākṛta with his sandhivigrahika to Bhīma. The gāthā means that 'a lion whose prowess is seen in the ease with which he kills a powerful elephant does not care to make war or keep peace with a deer.' * The suggestion is clear. The several answers proposed by his court-poets do not satisfy Bhīma who is ill at ease to find a thrashing rejoinder. His courtiers go out and find one Govindāchārya who was attending a dance–performance in a Jaina temple with his pupil Sūrāchārya. The Prabhāvakacharita gives a graphic description of the dance and tells us that when the

* हेलानिद्दलियगइन्दकुम्भपयडियपयावपसरस्स ।
सीहस्स मएण समं न विग्गहो नेव सन्धाणं ॥ The P. C. p. 28.

damsel perspiring reposed on a stone-pillar Govindāchārya was requested to describe that graceful pose. He looks at Surāchārya who composes a beautiful verse on the reposing damsel. + The courtiers, being impressed, request Govindāchārya to attend the court which he does with his pupil Surāchārya. He is requested to prepare a befitting reply and again he looks at his pupil. Surāchārya prepares the answer in a Prākṛta gāthā. It means : The creator in Bhīma, created the destroyer of the sons of the blind one; what does one matter to him to whom a hundred did not matter ? × Here there is a pun upon the word Bhīma and Andhakasuta. Bhima the Pāṇḍava killed the hundred sons of the blind Dhṛtarāshṭra; so this Bhīma will easily kill one son of the blind. This gāthā confirms the tradition that Sindhula the father of Bhoja was deprived of his eye-sight by his brother Munja.

This Surāchārya was a cousin of the king Bhīma, being the son of his maternal uncle Sangrāmasimha. If the mother of Bhīma was Lakshmī, younger sister of Mahendra who was the king of Marudeṣa, we may infer that Sangrāmasimha was a prince of Marudeṣa. Sangrāmsaimha died when his son was very young. His name, before he became a Jaina monk was Mahīpāla. His mother handed him ever for education to a brother of her husband who had become a Jaina monk known as Droṇāchārya. This Droṇāchārya was

+ See the Pra. Ch. p. 246. vs. 20-25.

यत्कङ्कणाभरणकोमलबाहुवल्लिसङ्गात् कुरङ्गकदृशो नवयौवनायाः ।
न स्विद्यसि प्रचलसि प्रविकम्पसे त्वं तत्सत्यमेव दृषदा ननु निर्मितोऽसि ॥२६॥

× अन्धयसुयाण कालो भीमो पुहवीइ निम्मिओ विहिणा ।
जेण सयंपि न गणिअं का गणणा तुज्झ इक्कस्स ॥ The P C. p. 28.

probably a disciple of Govindāchārya who is referred to as a man of versatile learning. Mahīpāla became a master of Vyākaraṇa, Nyāya, and Dharmaṣāstra. After finishing his education, he became a Jaina monk and and became famous as Sūrāchārya.

As a young man this Sūrāchārya was a terrific task - master of his pupils who once complained about his harshness to the elder Guru. The elder Guru rebuked him for his impetuous nature and asked him to show the power of his intellect by conquering the learned assembly of Bhoja. The young dialectician understood the taunt and expressed his determination to proceed to Dhārā which he afterwards did with the permission of his Guru, and his maternal cousin king Bhīma, who sent him there as his representative. His intellectual feats are decribed at length in the Prābhāvakacharita. +

A royal Purohita in ancient India was a persona grata. In the reign of Bhīma I this position was occupied by one Someṣvara. This gentleman appears to be a man of very liberal outlook. It was through his intercession that Jaina monks known as Suvihita or Vasativadins got a footing in Aṇahillapura, which was a stronghold of the Chaitya-vasin Jaina monks from the time of Vanarāja who was brought up, as we saw, by the Chaityavāsin monk Ṣilaguṇasūri. The Suvihitas or the Vasativādins practised more rigorously the discipline of Mahāvīra while the Chaityavasins were like the abbots or the heads of Maṭhas of other Hindu sects who led a life of ease and luxury. Artistic culture as well as harsher intellectual disciplines were fostered

+ See pp. 245-261.

by them. But they were not remarkable for their ascetic life, while the Suvihitas were. But the convention was that Suvihitas could not live in Aṇahillapura.

Jineṣvara and Buddhisāgara two munis or monks of Suvihita type come to Aṇahillapura. They were Brāhmaṇas of Madhyadeṣa learned in the fourteen Vidyās as well as Smṛtis and Itihāsa and bore the names Ṣrīdhara and Ṣrīpati before they were converted. When they found no place in the capital, they went to the Purohita and recited the Vedas and showed their mastery of Brahamaṇical learning. They were welcomed by Someṣvara to whom they showed the similarity of Veda-Upanishad - philosophy with Jaina philosophy. It was the emphasis on dayā or non-violence towards animals in Jaina religion which made them accept that faith. Someṣvara provided them with lodging and boarding and when the men of Chaityavāsis asked these monks to leave Aṇahillapura the matter was brought before the king whose name the Prabhāvaka-charita gives as Durlabha.* The Chaityavāsis argued their monopoly of residence on historical grounds. The king accepted their plea but requested them to allow these people to live in the capital as he could not refuse residence to respectable people.

Someṣvara then requested the king to provide for them a place of residence.

Jṇānadeva the pontiff of the Ṣaiva church came at that time to visit the king. He was informed of the incident. He was very much pleased to see that his

* See the Pra. Ch. pp. 264-267. This incident may have taken place at the end of Durlabha's reign or more probably in the beginning of Bhīma's reign.

preachings had the desired effect on the king in as much as he honoured 'all holy men.' " Ṣiva is Jina " says Jṇānadeva " Let the Purohita give them land belonging to the Tripurusha (the Ṣaiva temple built by Mūlarāja) in the Rice-market. I will see to it that no trouble arises either from our side or the other side (p. 266). " Someṣvara followed his instructions and got a residence for the Jaina ascetics. 'After that' says the Pr. Ch. " a series of residences sprung up; for that which is founded by great men prospers; there is no doubt in that" (p. 266.).

This incident explains the mental attitude of the religious leaders of the higher type as also how vested interests were responsible for quarrels within the sect itself.

Buddhisāgara composed a Samskṛta grammar which is named after him and consists of eight thousand ṣlokas – (that is units of eight syllables) according to the Pr. Ch.. According to the praṣasti of the ms of this work, which is not yet published, the volume of the grammar was 7000 ṣlokas. It was composed at Jābālipura (Jalor) in the year V. S. 1180=A. D. 1124. Jineṣvara wrote a work on Logic. +

Another important figure of the times is the learned poet Dharma of Ṣri Bhṛgukachchha (Broach) on the banks of the river Mekala–Kanyā (Narmadā) in Lāṭa. His account is given at some length in the Prabhāvakacharita in connection with the poet Dhana-pāla of Dhārā and the great logician of Aṇahillapura – Ṣantyāchārya.* His father Sūradeva was a very learned

+ See Purātattva Vol. II pp. 83–84.

* See the Pra. Cha. pp. 238–242.

man–'Brahman incarnate'. His mother Sāvitrī was the crest – jewel of the Satīs, and was famous for her charities. The family belonged to the Kaula sect of Ṣaivism and so Dharma is often referred to as the Kaula Kavi Dharma. Dharma had an elder brother named Ṣarma and a sister named Gomatī. As a child he was a great dunce; so his father had asked him to find out some employment for himself. He became a guardsman in some sugar–cane field on the other side of the Narmadā, and while serving there, through the favour of some Yoginī, his intellectual powers suddenly developed. As he approached the bank of the river to cross it, he burst into a poem describing its powerful flow.* He crossed the river in a boat and went home. But he was not welcomed by his father and so left his home in disgust abusing his Kaula sect in choicest terms. He toured all the provinces holding debates with the learned men and defeating them. He came to Dhārā and sent his challenge to the king Bhoja. There he describes himself as having defeated Ṣambhu of Gauḍa (Bengal), Dvija in Dhārā, Vishṇu in Bhattia – Mandala and Paṣupati in Ṣrī Kānyakubja. His challenge is that let any body face him in the sciences of Tarka, Lakshaṇa and Sāhitya. He easily defeats all the learned men of Bhoja's assembly. Bhoja sends for his friend the poet Dhanapāla who had left him as he was insulted in connection with

* एते मेकलकन्यकाप्रणयिनः पातालमूलस्पृशः
संत्रासं जनयन्ति विन्ध्यभिदुरा वारां प्रवाहाः पुरः ।
हेलोद्वर्तितनर्तितप्रतिहतव्यावर्तितप्रेरित–
त्यक्तस्वीकृतनिह्नुतप्रकटितप्रोद्भूततीरद्रुमाः ॥ २४३ ॥
Pra. Ch. p. 239.

his novel Tilakamanjarī, and appeals to his patriotism by saying "Shall a foreigner-a Kaula-defeat Dhārā ?" Dhanapāla returns from Satyapura (Sachor in Rajputana) and defeats Dharma who accepts his superiority by saying that there is no body who is Dhanapāla's equal. Dhanapāla asks him to visit Ṣāntisūri of Anahillapura. Dharma at his sugggestion starts for Gurjaradeṣa (Pr. Ch. pp. 238-244). He comes to Aṇahillapura and meets the great logician Ṣāntisūri in an open debate. The arguments that Dharma puts forth were taken from the Tattvopaplava * a dialectical work showing that nothing is provable and nothing is knowable. (The author of this work is one Jayarāshibhaṭṭa.) Ṣrī Ṣāntyāchārya answers all his arguments and Dharma accepts him as his superior, and as a wonderful logician. He says "A man like Dhanapāla would not tell a lie. You are really a learned man" (Ibid. pp. 221-222).

This Ṣāntisūri appears to be a great figure in the intellectual and literary world of Gurjaradeṣa and Mālava. The Prabhāvakacharita devotes a whole chapter to this dialectician and poet (It may be remarked here, in passing, that in the culture of ancient India, Logic and Poetry were not divorced from each other). According to it he was born in a village known as 'Unattāyu' to the west of Ṣri Pattaṇa, the present day Una near Radhanpura. His father was a rich man of the Ṣrimāla family and bore the name of Dhanadeva. His mother's name was Dhanaṣrī. He was known as Bhīma. Vijayasimha, seeing his

* A Palm-leaf ms of this work was first discovered by Pandita Sukhalalji and Pandita Bechardas from a Bhandar at Patana. An edition of this work by Pt. Sukhlalji and the present writer is under preparation.

uncommon intelligence begged him of his father. He was taught all the Kalās (arts) and Vidyās (sciences). From the learned assembly of Bhīma, he got the titles "Kavīndra" (A king of poets) and Vādichakrin (A king of dialecticians). Dhanapāla-the famous man of letters of Dhārā-got his Tilakamanjarī critically examined by Ṣāntyāchārya at the suggestion of his Guru Mahendra-ṣūri. Dhanapāla personally went to Anahillapura to make the request. He was astonished to see the high level of intelligence of a pupil of Santisūri whom he wanted to take to Dhārā. Ṣantisūri replied : " He has yet to study the difficult Pramāṇaṣāstras. He should not be taken away from his studies ". At the request of Dhanapāla and with the permission of Bhīma, Ṣantisūri went to Dhārā as a representative of Gurjaradeṣa. He was very well received by Bhoja. There he critically went through the Tilakamanjarī – kathā and wrote a Ṭippaṇa on the work which exists in a manuscript form.

Bhoja in order to see the intellectual powers of this Ṣvetabhikshu of Gurjaradeṣa offered him a lac of rupees for every Vādin (dialectician) that he defeated. Ṣāntisūri defeated eighty-four of them and got the title Vādivetāla from Bhoja in addition to the promised sum of money which he spent in building temples. Ṣāntisūri was a Chaityavāsin.

Abhayadevasūri-the author of that big commentary on the Sanmatitarka of Siddhasena Divākara known as Vādamahārṇava was Ṣāntisūri's teacher. *

This Ṣāntisūri had thirty-two students studying pramāṇaṣāstra under him. It appears that Buddhist logic was also taught there and regarded as very difficult

* See further on.

to grasp.+ A young Jaina monk of the ascetic type named Muni Chandra attended his lectures standing unknown for a fortnight. When Ṣāntisūri put certain questions to his students, nobody could answer them. Chandrasūri with his permission answered them to his satisfaction, and then narrated his state of affairs. Ṣāntisūri was very much impressed with him and offered to teach him, at the same time providing him with a residence behind the Mint (Tankaṣālā), as he being a Suvihita monk had great difficulty to find one. So it appears it took some time, even after the royal permit, before these monks could find an easy footing in Aṇahillapura.

Ṣāntisūri, after his debate with Dharma, met a dialectician–come to Aṇahillapura from Drāviḍa country, whose name is not given but who is represented as talking in a strange language. He was also worsted.

Ṣāntisūri composed a commentary on the Uttarādhyayanasūtra with whose help Vādi Devasūri a disciple of Mūni Chandra defeated the Digambara dialectician Kumudachandra in the time of Jayasimha. It appears Ṣāntisūri was responsible for starting a school of logic amongst the Jainas; for we find this Vādi Devasūri composing a big work on the subject known as Pramāṇanayatattvāloka and its commentary Syādvāda – Ratnākara.

Ṣāntisūri died in the year V. S. 1096 = A. D. 1040.

We find from the copper–plates of Bhīma that his Mahā Sāndhivigrahika (Great Minister of War and Peace) was Ṣrī Chanḍaṣarman. To his minister Dāmodara or Ḍāmara we have already alluded. From

+ प्रमेया दुष्परिच्छेद्या बौद्धतर्कसमुद्भवाः। ७३ Pr. Ch. p. 220.

the Surathotsava, we learn that Bhīma's Purohita was Soma (vs. 15 - 16) who seems to be identical with the Someṣvara mentioned by the Prabhāvakacharita and to whom we have already referred.

From the N. N. C. Praṣasti we learn that Vīra–the Minister of Durlabharāja, who is also mentioned as we saw by the Pr. Ch., had two sons named Neḍhu and Vimala. Neḍhu was a minister of Bhīma while Vimala was a general of Bhīma. Vimala was sent to bring the ruler of Ābu under subjection which he did. He was, then, made the governor of the place. This Vimala, like his fore–fathers, was a worshipper of Ṣakti under the name of Ambā. After having made friends with the former ruler of Ābu, he built there the famous marble temple–a wonder of the world in sculpture and carving. The temple is known after him as Vimalavasahi. We learn from the Purātanaprabandhasamgraha that Neḍha became a monk and Vimala was made a king by Ṣrī Bhīma who, as insignia of honour, gave him an elephant and an umbrella (p. 52). It appears that the construction of the whole temple was not finished in Vimala's life–time; for the ranga - maṇḍapa, according to the P. P. S. was made by his son Chāhila (p. 152). According to the N. N. C. P., however, it was constructed by his grandson Pṛthvīpāla in the reign of Kumārapāla.

From the P. C. we learn that Bhīma had a son named Mūlarāja who died young. This Mūlarāja, in a year of famine, got the farmers freed from the payment of revenue. He died soon after. Next year, when the crops were good, the farmers brought the revenues of the last year with the present year. But the king refused to take what he had already let go. The

revenues were ultimately spent in building a Ṣaiva temple in honour of Bāla – Mūlarāja known also as Tripurusha – prāsāda. Bhīma built another temple in honour of Ṣiva, known as Ṣrī Bhīmeṣvaraprāsāda; another of his temple is known as Bhaṭṭārikā Bhiruaṇī – prāsāda. His queen Udayamatī, who was a daughter of Naravāhana Khangara (of Soratha), built a step – well which had beautiful carving. The remains of this step – well are near Patan.

His minister Dāmodara seems to have built a well which must have been a great work of art as we gather from a Gujarati couplet. *

Bhīma, according to the D. K., first offered his throne to Kshemarāja, who, however, refused to accept it, as he wanted to devote his life to religious pursuits. Then Bhīma and Kshemarāja together asked Karṇa to become the king (C. IX v. 73 – 75). Bhīma died soon after. Kshemarāja retired to Mandukeṣvara near Dadhisthalī, on the banks of the Sarasvatī. Dadhisthalī was given to Devaprasāda son of Kshemarāja, so that he might attend upon his father (vs. 76 – 77).

According to the P. C., Karṇa reigned from V. S. 1120 to V. S. 1150 = A. D. 1064 to A. D. 1094 for about thirty years. Two copper – plate grants of his dated V. S. 1131 = A. D. 1075 and V. S. 1148 = A. D. 1092 have been discovered. The first grant contains the geneology from Mūlarāja to Karṇa. It refers to the grant of a village called Dhāmaṇachhā (the modern Dhāmṇā) in Nāgasārikā district (Navasarī).

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* राणीकी वाव ने दामोदर कुवो
जेणे न जोयो ते जीवतां मुवो.

The grantee is one Paṇḍita Mahīdhara learned in all Ṣāstras, son of Rudrāditya, grandson of the Brāhmaṇa Madhusūdana of Māndavya gotra hailing from Madhyadeṣa. It is written by Kekā (Kekaka) son of Kāyastha Vaṭeṣvara. The Dūtaka is Mahāsāndhivigrahika Ṣrī Gāditya. This same grant is to be found in another copy. It is dated Ṣaka Samvat 996 (1074 A. D.) a month later than the first one. In the geneology of Karṇa, it omits the name of Chāmuṇḍa. It contains the family history of Ṣrī Durlabheṣa the Mahāmaṇḍaleṣvara of Karṇa for Lāṭa, who seems to have confirmed the original grant.

The second grant of V. S. 1148=A. D. 1092 is issued from Aṇahilapāṭaka. It does not give the geneology. In it Karṇa is called Trailokyamalla. It gives a field in the village called Sunāka in the district of Ānandapura (Vadanagara) containing 126 villages. The field is given for the benefit of a step - well made by Rasovika Thakkura Mahādeva. The grant is written by Akshapāṭalika Kekkaka son of Kāyastha Vaṭeṣvara. The Dūtaka is Mahāsāndhivigrahak Ṣrī Chāhilla. In it the signature is Ṣrī Karṇadevasya.

From the first grant, we learn that before 1075 A. D. the dominion of Karṇa in the south extended beyond Tāpi and Navasārī. This is the usual southern limit of Gujarāta. From the second grant in which Karṇa assumes the title of Trailokyamalla, we may infer that before 1092 A. D. Karṇa had won his main victories.

The D. K. and the P. C., however, do not refer to Karṇa's expeditions or fights against other kings. But from the Sukṛtasamkīrtana and the Surathotsava,

we learn that Karṇa led an expedition against Mālava and inflicted a defeat on the king, bringing with him from Dhārā an image or linga of Nīlakanṭha Mahādeva. It appears from other sources that Jayasimha son of Bhoja with the help of the Chālukya king Someṣvara of the south had regained his power after inflicting a defeat on Karṇa – the king of Chedi – an ally of Bhīma I. Karṇa Solanki of Aṇahillapura must have defeated this Jayasimha. But Udayāditya, who came on the throne of Mālava after his nephew Jayasimha, regained the lost power.

We learn from an inscription of Sundha Pahādi that Karṇa had to fight with the Chauhāṇas of Nāddula. A severe defeat was inflicted on Karṇa's army. This quarrel with the Chauhāṇs began in the reign of Bhīma I.

From the Karṇasundarī Nātikā of the Kashmiri poet Bilhaṇa – a contemporary work, we learn that Karṇa had sent an expedition to conquer Gajjana-naara (Gajjananagara) under Rucchika, if the name in the play is not imaginary (p. 53). A messenger named Vīrasimha, sent by the successful general, describes, before the king, the battle which took place on the banks of the Sindhu (p. 54).

The S. S. also refers to Karṇa's victory in Sindha.

Most of the accounts about Karṇa, however, occupy themselves with describing his uncommon beauty of person – charming to women (K. K. C. II vs. 20–21), and his love-romances. The Karṇasundarī Nātikā of the Kāshmiri poet Bilhaṇa takes for its plot a love – episode of Karṇa. The heroine is a celestial damsel – a Vidyādharī. The drama follows closely the models of Mālavikāgnimitra – a historical

play of Kālidāsa and the Ratnāvalī of Ṣrī Harsha, in its plot, as also in other details. We are not able to identify exactly the heroine of the play with any historical personage. This has led to a fanciful explanation of Karṇasundarī* – as the city of Karṇāvatī supposed to be founded by Karṇa as a rival of Aṇahillapura. On the face of it the explnation is absurd and shows a complete misunderstanding of the Samskṛta play and its technique. If any historical person is intended in the character of the Vidyādharī Karṇasundarī, it could be no one else but Mayaṇallā, the beloved queen of Karṇa whose romantic love forms the subject – matter of the ninth canto of the Dvyāṣraya Kāvya where the romantic meeting of Mayaṇallā and Karṇa resembles somewhat a similar account in the play. Even though there is no definite evidence to enable us to identify the Vidyādharī with Mayaṇallā, whatever indications we can gather from the play point in that direction. Samskṛta dramatists very often give clues to their characters in the prologues of their plays. The Sūtradhāra, in this play, is at a loss to understand why his wife is not quite sweet with him. He guesses that he might have said something in his dream, referring to the beautiful damsel from the south, whose art and youth he had closely observed as she was dancing before the king. This Dākshiṇātyā Natī probably is meant to suggest the heroine Vidyādharī who became Karṇasundarī. This reference to the south, if it suggests

* Karna Solanki by Mr. Ramlal C. Modi in the Bhārtiya Anuṣilanagrantha presented to Pt. Gaurishankara Oza, Part III, pp. 14 – 25.

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anything, must refer to Mayaṇallā, who was a princess from Karṇāṭaka.

We learn from the play that the name of the Devī – the principal queen – of Karṇa at the time of the play was Sītā. The minister, who is compared to Yaugandharāyaṇa and whose scheming activities are responsible for the whole episode, is Sampatkara popularly known as Sāntu. It was through this relationship that Sampatkara wanted to achieve the Chakravartitva–emperorship–of the king. This probably refers to the fact of an alliance between the king of Karṇāṭaka Vikramāditya VI who was married to a sister of Mayaṇallā, and Karṇa; – an alliance brought about through a common father-in-law. The association of the king of Karṇāṭaka and Karṇa is mentioned on an inscription of Udayāditya of Mālava. It is likely that the minister Saṃpatkara may have been in some way responsible in arranging this match for a political purpose. The play might have been performed after the Gujarat victories in Mālava and Sindha. The marriage of Karṇa with Mayaṇallā must have taken place before these victories.

The account of Karṇa in the Dvyāṣraya mainly concerns itself with describing the romance of Karṇa and Mayaṇallā, their marriage, and the birth of Jayasīmha. Hemachandra devotes about ten verses (178–88) in describing the valour etc. of Karṇa. Then the account of the romance begins. The door-keeper ushers in a painter who has been touring through different parts of India and has drawn wonderful pictures. The artist lays bare before the king, a painting on cloth (ālekhyapaṭa). The king is charmed with a princess

drawn on it, and inquires about her from the painter. The artist answers : " There is a city named Chandrapura in the south. A king named Jayakeṣin reigns there. This princess named Mayaṇallā is the daughter of that king. Glory to her." Then the artist narrates how this princess even though in full youth refused to marry, and how she ultimately succumbed to the charms of a painting of Kārna shown to her by a travelling artist. Then the artist describes her love-lorn condition. " I, feeling like weeping, painted her in this picture and brought her to you. My work is done!" (vs. 117 - 18).

The match is arranged and Mayaṇallā comes to marry Karṇa with a big dowry of elephants etc. given by her father. The whole party encamps outside the city. Karṇa goes to see the elephants incognito with an attendant. There he sees the princess in a latāgṛha - a bower of creepers. From her Cholaka - a sort of boddice - he infers that she is a virgin and makes inquiries of her name etc. Her attendants inform the king that 'she has graced the Kadamba family.'

Hemachandra informs us that Mayaṇallā was made Mahishī, i. e. the principal queen.

We know from the history of the Kadamba family that Jayakeṣin's forefathers ruled in Chandrapura (Chandor in Salestta Tāluka near Goa) and that Jayakeṣin, himself having conquered Goa, transferred his capital there. Jayakeṣin died in the year V. S. 1136 - A. D. 1080. The marriage took place when he was alive. From the D. K. we learn that Karṇa married Mayaṇallā after he came to the throne. The event might have happened in the early part of his

reign. In that case, the marriage must have taken place between A. D. 1064 and A. D. 1080.

We gather from the D. K. (X v. - 2) that for a long time after their marriage they had no issue. Karṇa goes to the temple of the goddess Ṣrī (Ṣrīveṣma) or Lakshmī, the consort of Vishṇu, and propitiates her by praying and by practising austerities. Karṇa's devotion is tested in various ways. First the heavenly damsels try to tempt him, but they fail; then a terrible male-form tries to frighten him, but it also fails. The goddess is pleased and grants him his desire.

The canto XI begins with the description of the ideal love of the king and the queen. Mayaṇallā bears a child. A son is born. Astrologers, riding on horses, come to the palace. His glorious future is fore - cast. He is revealed to be an incarnation of Rāmachandra (v. 20). The elderly ladies of the family gave him the name of Jayasimha (v. 39) - a different type of name - reminiscent of his maternal grand-father's name - Jayakeṣin. + According to the P. P. S. Jayasimha was eight years old when Karṇa died. If this date is correct, Jayasimha's birth must have taken place in V. S. 1142 - A. D. 1086.

The account of the P. C. — that Mayaṇallā was very ugly and that Karṇa, who first refused but later on consented to marry her under a threat of suicide from his mother Queen Udayamatī, had great dislike for Mayaṇallā, - should be discredited as utterly going against the much earlier testimony of Hemachandra,

+ The word केशिन् means सिंह that is lion. So the names are identical in meaning.

who would not not have described their passionate love in such glowing terms if the things were as described in the P. C.. If the facts were as the P. C. relates Hemachandra would rather have remained silent on the point. The other part of the scandalous story that the minister Munjāla secretly substituted Mayaṇallā for a low – born woman to whom Karṇa was attached and that consequently she bore a child may equally be discredited.

The P. C. tells us that when Jayasimha was three years old, he mounted the throne in play. This being rather ominous the king, acting on the advice of his astrologers, crowned the boy king. He then went to suppress the turbulent Bhilla chief Āṣā of Aṣāpalli and founded a city, or more probably renamed Āṣāpalli which became known after him as Karṇāvatī, and ruled there as king. The suppression of Aṣā and the founding of the city or renaming Āṣāpalli are historical facts. But the crowning of Jayasimha at the age of three does not seem probable.

The Dvyāṣraya tells us that when Jayasimha had finished his studies and was coming of age, Karṇa after consulting his ministers asked him to accept the throne so that he might lead a retired life, devoted to Hari (God). Jayasimha first refused but on his father pressing him, he consented, and so was crowned king. Karṇa asked Jayasimha to look after his brother's son Devaprasāda and his descendants.

The P. P. S. tells us that when Jayasimha was eight years old, Ṣrī Karṇa died. He was trained for rulership (Guṇaṣreṇī) by the minister Santu even when he was eight years old (p. 35).

It appears from the D. K. that Karṇa became a devotee of Hari or Vishṇu. When he is persuading Jayasiṃna to accept the throne, he says " Before the female - serpent old age bites this bird of my soul, it is time for me to meditate on that God whose hands are as long as the king of serpents (Ṣesharāja) who lies on his serpent-couch, whose insignia is the bird that kills the serpents (Garuḍa), who wears a garment of the colour (yellow) of the king of birds (Garuḍa), and who has made the difficult path to heaven easily accessible (v. 95 - 96). Again when referring to his death, Hemachandra calls him " Brahamavādī and Harismārī. " We saw that Karṇa propitiated Lakshmī for a son. We may, however, note that in his copper-plates, he is referred to as worshipping Ṣiva. So also in the Karṇasundarī. This means that he might have become a Vaishṇava in the latter part of his reign after the birth of Jayasiṃha.

From the P. C., we learn that while proceeding to fight Aṣā, he received signs of good luck from the goddess Bhairavadevī and so Karṇa built a temple in honour of that goddess Kochharaba (probably connected with Kocharab - a suburb of Ahmedabad) - and another in honour of the goddess Jayantīdevī at the place where he defeated the Bhilla chieftain. He also built in Karṇāvatī a temple known as Karṇeṣvaradevatāyatana and also a lake called Karṇa-sāgara which may be the original of the present-day Kānkaria Talao which was also known as Hoz-e-kutub. In Ṣrī Pattana he built a temple known as Ṣri Karṇa - Meru Prāsāda (p. 55). Near Moḍherā also, he built a lake and a temple known after him.

From his copper - plates we learn that two of his Mahāsandhivigrahikas were Ṣrī Gāditya and Ṣrī Chāhila. From the Karṇasundarī, we learn that his principal minister whose intelligence and loyalty, the poet describes at some length, was Sampatkara. Sampatkara or Santu continued to mind the affairs of the state even in the time of Jayasimha.

I have referred to the Karṇasundarī Nāṭikā of Bilhaṇa. This Bilhaṇa was a sojourner in Aṇahillapura. He was a poet from Kāṣmira who stayed for a while in the capital of Gurjardeṣa when he was out, travelling in India, seeking fortune. He gives a sort of his autobiography in the XVIII canto of his poem Vikaramāṇkadevacharita. According to it he was a native of Khoṇamukha, a village near Pravarapura (v. 71) (according to Dr. Bühler, at a distance of three miles from Pravarapura in Kāṣmira. His father's name was Jyeshṭhakalaṣa whom he describes as very learned (Sārasvata-rasa -nidhāna and Ṣruti-nidhi) and his having composed a commentary on the Mahābhāshya (79). His mother's name was Nāgadevī whom he describes as an in house - management (80). The poet then describes adept himself as one in whose mouth the goddess of Speech resided from the time he became a student (81). He was a master of the Vedas with their Aṇgas, of the Mahābhāshya of Patanjali, and the beautiful art of Poetry and Poetics was his very life - breath (82).

Before he came to Aṇhillapura, he had visited Mathurā, Kānyakubja, etc. He stayed for some time in the court of Karṇa of Chedi (vs. 93) who, as we saw, was a contemporary of Bhīma I. Bilhaṇa avoided Dhārā, probably because there was enmity between

Chedi and Mālava, though he writes in his boasting style that Dhārā was sorry that he did not go there. From Chedi, he came to Aṇahillapura. He must have come there in the early part of Karṇa's reign, probably soon after Karṇa's marriage with Mayaṇallā. It may be that he might have written the play to commemorate the event. *

It appears his stay in Aṇahillapura was not of such consequence as to deserve mention in his self – eulogistic account. He merely refers to it 'as contact with Gurjars on the way.' He was disgusted with their speech and with their way of wearing dhoti. His references to Aṇahillapattana, and to Karṇa, and his eulogy of the Mahāmātya Sampatrkara in the Karṇasundarī, however, tell a different tale. It might be that because he wrote his Vikramānkadevacharita in the court of Āhavamalla a rival Chālukya king, he had to make slighting references to the Gurjaras, or it might be that his unchecked arrogance which he reveals in his auto–biographic account met with a check in the court of Aṇahillapura and that his vanity was wounded. However that may be, the blemishes of speech and dress which Bilhaṇa refers to must not be regarded as unreal.

* Mr. Ramlal Modi thinks that the play must have been written not in the time of Karṇa, but in the early part of Jayasimha's reign, because the plav is not acted in one of Karṇa's Ṣaiva temples, but in the Jaina temple of Sampatakara. This argument, I think, is flimsy, and is based upon an ignorance of the customs of the times. It was an usual thing in those days, for such plays to be acted in Jaina temples on festive occasions; and a foreign poet might very well write a play for the festival in the temple of the prime – minister.

Bilhaṇa went to Somanātha and from there took boat, in the opinion of Dr. Bühler, from the neighbouring port of Verāvala and voyaged to the south. He settled in the court of Āhavamalla-the Chālukya king of Kalyāṇa, as the Vidyāpati, or Master of Learning.

Another great figure whose activities extended up to the middle of Karṇa's reign was Abhayadevasūri. He is known as the Navāngī ṭīkā-kāra that is a commentator on the nine Angas of the Jainas. He is different from the Abhayadevasūri who was a teacher of Ṣāntisūri and the author of that great commentary on the Sanmati - tarka of Siddhasena Divākara. He was a son of Mahīdhara, a rich man of Dhārā. His mother's name was Dhanadevī. It was through the influence of Abhayadeva that a big temple in honour of Pārṣvanātha was built on the banks of the river Sedhi or Seti in Gujarat. The rich men of Dholka who had accompanied Abhayadevasūri collected a fund of a lac of rupees to build the temple. The land was given by the villagers. Āmreṣvara, a pupil of Ṣrī Mallavādin who was an expert in architecture was made the headman. In addition to his food etc., he got one dramma daily as his wages. From this payment, he saved some money and built a small temple himself which existed in the time of the author of the Pr. Ch. (pp. 267 - 272).

Abhayadevasūri died in the reign of Karṇa somewhere between V. S. 1135 - 39 = A. D. 1079 - 1083.

According to the D. K., Karṇa died peacefully as a 'Brahmavādī and a Harismārī'. But the Hammiramadamardana suggests that Karṇa was killed by Duhṣāla in battle. For many reasons which Mr. Ramlal

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Modi has ably given in his article on Karṇa (pp. 20-21), it appears that this incident referred to in a poem written three-hundred years later cannot be believed as against the almost contemporary account of Hemachandra.

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Siddharāja Jayasiṃha is the most remembered of the kings of Gujarata. He still lives in folk-literature and folk-drama. + Like Vikrama and Bhoja he has become almost a legendary figure. In fact, it appears to be the ambition of Jayasimha to become like Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī in all aspects of life. Jayasimha's behaviour with such a conscious aim in view explains the lasting impression that he made on the imagination of the people of his own as well as of later generations. Otherwise it would be inexplicable to understand why the Dvyāṣraya Kāvya which gives a normal historical account of the preceding kings of Aṇahillapura from Mūlarāja to Karṇa, as also of the succeeding king Kumārapāla, gives a super-normal account of the contemporary king Jayasimha. This can be explained on the assumption that the uncommon personality of Jayasimha was assuming a legendary character in his own times. In fact, Jayasimha is better known as Siddharāja * or Siddhīraja (as he is called in the

+ The Veṣa of Sadharo Jesang,—that is, how Siddharāja Jayasiṃha is known to folk-literatnre—still forms an important item in the traditional stock of folk-playlets performed by Bhavaiyas - a caste of hereditary actors.

* Siddharāja may be understood either as the king of Siddhas or as the king who is a Siddha - a master of Siddhis. For another and historically more probable implication of the word see furthe on.

D. K.) which means a lord of Siddhis—super – natural powers. We shall have occasion to refer to this aspect when we came to the account of the D. K.

In addition to the inscriptions, and literary accounts, we have been utilizing up till now, we are fortunate in possessing, for this period, other sources of information which help us in arranging some of the events of his reign chronologically. These are the colophons of some of the contemporary manuscripts. This important material was first made known by Muni Ṣrī Jinavijayaji in his address which he delivered as an Honorary Member of the Gujarat Sāhitya Sabhā.

As to the additional literary sources, we may note the Siddha – Hema grammar, the Deṣināmamāla, the Chhandonuṣāsana, and other works of Hemachandra; the Vāgbhaṭālamkāra of Vāgbhaṭa in which Jayasiṃha is referred to in about ten verses, the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi (completed in V. S. 1197=A. D. 1141) of Vardhamāna sūri, some verses of another contemporary writer Sāgarachandra quoted in the G. R. M., and the drama called Mudritakumudachandra of Yaṣaschandra which gives an account of the controversy held between Kumudachandra, a Diagambara Āchārya and Devasūri, a Ṣvetāmbara Ācharya, and incidentally describes the learned assembly of Jayasiṃha and refers to some of its literary figures.

The Ṣatārthakāvya of Somaprabhasūri – a contemporary of Kumārapāla–has for one of its hundred interpretations Jayasimha as the subject.

Two Islamic writers also supply us with some useful material. One is the geographer Al – Idrisi,

author of the Nuzhat – ul – Mushtak who visited the court of Jayasimha (C. H. I, Vol. III, p. 517 and the B. G. Vol. I p. 508). The other is Muhammad Ufi the author of Jame – ul – Hikayata (N. P. P. Vol. II, pp. 163 – 64).

The Prabandhachintāmaṇi gives forty-nine years' reign to Jayasimha, from V. S. 1150 to V. S. 1199 A. D. 1094 – 1143. In the unpublished collection of Gujarata Inscriptions of Muni Ṣri Jinavijayaji, nine inscriptions of Jayasimha's reign are noted; so also, in his address referred to, he has noted nine dated references to Jayasimha in the colophons of various manuscripts. A fragment of the praṣasti of the Lake Sahasralinga was deciphered by Jinavijaya on a slab of stone set in the wall of a small Ṣaiva temple in Vijaliamoholla (Patana), which was first noticed by Mr. Ramlal Modi (see Prasthāna, Vol. 12, pp. 213–298).

Now the first question that faces us is the age at which Jayasimha was consecrated king. From the D. K. as we have already noted, we gather that he was just reaching youth when he was asked by his father to assume kingly position. He is compared to a plant of Vrīhi corn which is forming sheaves or clusters in Ṣarad – months of September – October. (Yathā stambakarer Vrīhih sa tadāsīt tathodayī (v. 57).) The verses that follow show him to be a brave and obedient lad.

From the P. P. S., we learn that he was eight years old whe Karṇa died and from the P. C., we learn that he was formally crowned king when three years of age. The P. P. S. tells us that he was being trained for kingly duties by his minister Sampatkara.

From this evidence, we may infer that Jayasimha was not of age when he came to the throne.

The main event in the time of Jayasimha's minority or the early part of his reign was an attack on Aṇahillapura by Naravarman * the king of Mālava when Jayasimha was absent on a pilgrimage to Somanātha with his mother Mayaṇallā or Minaladevī, as she is called in the Gujarati. Probably the best part of the army was with the young King and Queen-Mother. So Sampatakara or Sāntu who was in charge of the capital had to make peace with the invader by giving, as the P. C. says, Jayasimha's merit of pilgrimage to Somanātha. It is a question whether the invader was satisfied with merely religious merit. Anyhow when Jayasimha returned, he resolved upon to retrieve his honour by waging a war against Mālava.

When on pilgrimage to Somanātha, the Queen-mother used to encamp a few miles ahead of the king. As she approached Bāhuloḍa × a place where the pilgrim-tax was levied, she found some poor pilgrims, who could not pay the tax, returning in great sorrow. Mayaṇallā's religious sensibility was greatly affected and she, out of sympathy, returned with them. When Jayasimha

* The P.C. gives the name of the invader as Yaśovarman, but at the time Naravarman was on the throne of Mālava. See Pandita Oza's article on Jayasimha in the N. P. P. Vol. IX, p. 268. Mr. Ramalal thinks that this attack was made by the Chauhan king Yojaka Nadula on the strength of a general reference in an inscription two hundred years later than this event. There is no confirmatory evidence for this opinion.

× The identity of the place Bāhuloḍa has caused some discussion amongst scholars. Two places—one on the boundary of Gujarata and Kathiawada known as Bholāda and the other

was informed of the incident he let go the whole tax to satisfy his mother, which according to the P. C., amounted to seventytwo lacs of the current coin. ×

The first contemporary record of Jayasimha's reign that has been discovered up till now is a colophon dated V. S. 1157–A. D. 1101, that is seven years after his accession to the throne. In this, the reference is simply – Ṣrī Jayasimhadeva rājye – i. e. 'in the reign of Ṣrī Jayasimha.' This simple mention of his name without any titles is indicative of his minority; and its sole purpose is just to record the name of the occupant of the throne.

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near Ṣuklatīrtha on the river Narmadā known as Bhāloda – are put forward as representing Bāhuloḍa, where the pilgrim-tax was levied. Mr. Ramlal Modi holds the latter view. He says that the tax was levied from the pilgrims of the south; so the place must be on the southern boundary. On what evidence he says that the tax was levied only from the southern pilgrims, he does not indicate (p. 17 Article on Karṇa.). As far as I know, there is no mention of such a distinction. It is absurd to assume a place, hundreds of miles away from Somanātha, as the place where the pilgrim-tax was levied. Bholāda on the boundary of Kathiawada and Gujarata would have a better claim if no nearer place of the same name could be discovered. As it is, Muni Jinavijayaji has drawn my attention to one Bāhuloda near the foot of the Girnara mountain. It is mentioned in the Prāchīn Gurjara Kāvya Sangraha. P. 73

एउ वाउहलोडउं कोटउं तलि नियसइ गिरिनारु ।
ओ दीसइ ववणथली धवलियतुंग पयार [रु] ॥ २४

(The reading नियसइ is not found in the printed text of the G. O S. but J. V. has found it in a manuscript from a Pāṭan Bhandar). This Vāuhaloḍa or Bāhuloḍa would be the most appropriate place to levy tax on the pilgrims for Somanātha.

× These events–attack of Naravarman and the remission of the pilgrim tax–are not mentioned in the D. K.

The colophon of V. S. 1164 = A. D. 1108 is our second contemporary reference. In it we find Jayasimha described thus : Samasta – Rājāvalī–Virājita–Mahārāja-dhirāja – Paramesvara Srī Jayasimhadeva rājye. This indicates that by V. S. 1164, when Jayasimha might be twenty – two years of age, he had assumed full powers. Two years later in the colophon of V. S. 1166 = A. D. 1110 we find the significant title 'Tribhuvana-gaṇḍa' * which means 'the guardian of the three worlds.' We may infer from this that Jayasimha's military adventures might have begun by this time and that he was exercising full sovereign–powers.

In the colophon of the month Fālguṇa of the V. S. 1179, the same titles continue with an additional 'Srīmat.' From the same colophon, we learn that Santu was then the Mahāmātya or Chief Minister. In the colophon of the month of Bhādrapada of the same year, we find that the chief minister is Āsuka. This means that Santu had retired. The king has the additional title of Siddhachakravartin.

After this, in my opinion, should be placed that inscription of Jayasimha, in which the digit for the decimal place cannot be made out. × The king is

* The word 'gaṇḍa' is deśya meaning 'a chief of police' दाण्डपाशिक. See the Deśināmamāla p. 106 B. S. S.

× Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar read the year as 1200. But, from all accounts, Kumārapāla was reigning in that year. Jinavijayaji reads it as 11 ? 0. If we put the figure '8' it will suit the context well.

‡ This inscription records the grant of some money to भो० (probably भोजक) for performing plays in the temple of the goddess Sri Bahughṛṇā probably Bahucharā.

described in it as Samasta – Rājāvali–Virājita–Mahārājādhirāja Ṣrī Jayasimhadeva. ‡

This inscription gives the name of the Chief Minister as Āṣvāka. This Āṣvāka is the same as the Āṣuka of the colophon of Bhādrapada V. S. 1179. We also learn from the PrabhāvakaCh. that when Devasūri after defeating Kumudachandra in a public debate refused to accept money offered to him by king Jayasimha, his minister Āṣuka advised the king to build a Jaina Temple with it as Devasūri was indifferent to wealth (p. 295 vs. 270 – 271). Now we know that this debate took place in V. S. 1181. This corroborates the evidence of the colophon as well as the inscription. The title Siddha – chakravarti in the colophon indicates that between the months of Falguna and Bhadrapada of V. S. 1179 Barbarka must have been defeated and made a slave. This title is not given in the inscription probably because it had not yet become current outside the capital where, however, the colophon of V. S. 1179 was written.

Thus we find that by the end of the year V. S. 1179 the first great deed of Jayasimha's life was achieved.

Now the first deed of Jayasimha that the D. K. describes is his fight with Barbaraka who was troubling the sages of the time who approach Jayasimha to request him to kill the Rākshasa. (This is reminiscent of Rāma and Viṣvāmitra, and the killing of demons who were troubling Viṣvāmitra.). The whole of the twelfth canto of the D. K. is devoted to this episode. We learn from it that Barbaraka had come with his men as far as Ṣrīsthalapura (Siddhapura) on the Sarasvatī and devasted the holy place and the temple

of Svayambhū – Rudra – Mahākāla – Deva (5, 6, 13). The sages say that even a Chālukya child could protect them (14). This may have reference to the young age of the king. Jayasimha encamps on the river Sarasvatī. Barbaraka, who comes to know of it, sends his men to fight Jayasimha's army. A terrible fight ensues, and Jayasimha's army begins to fly away from the battlefield. Jayasimha himself goes to fight and his vetrin or door-keeper by his heroic speech brings back the soldiers to fight again. Barbaraka also comes to the battle-field and a mortal combat ensues between him and Jayasimha. Jayasimha strikes a blow on the head of Barbaraka with his sword which breaks into two. They wrestle with each other and the king so compresses the gaint in his arms that he vomits blood and swoons. Barbaraka is tied and made a prisoner. Then the wife of Barbaraka named Pingalikā (76) requests the king to release her husband, and undertakes to keep him in order. Thenceforth Barbaraka becomes a very faithful follower of the king. * We learn from the first verse of the thirteenth canto that Barbaraka presented the king with heaps of gold coins and rubies. He also showed Jayasimha how he could remain under sea by Viṣṇa method (4).

Who this Barbaraka was–we are not able to say definitely. The D. K. refers to him as the leader of Rākshasas. Other synonyms of the word Rākshasa are also used for him and his tribe. Another contemporary

* According to many authorities, he was a powerful ally of Jayasimha in his war with Khengāra of Saurāshṭra and YaSovarman of Mālava.

work – the Vāgbhaṭālamkāra – calls Barbaraka a 'naktanchara' meaning a 'rākshasa'. + From this we may infer that in the view of Hemachandra, these people, whose leader Barbaraka was, were of some non-Aryan tribes who did not care for the gods of the Aryans. Otherwise they would not desecrate the temple of Rudra on the Sarasvatī.

Whoever may have been this Barbaraka, his subjugation and enslavement at the hands of Jayasimha gave the conqueror a mythical character in the eyes of his people. This Barbaraka was regarded by later generations as a Bhūta or an evil spirit and according to the Kumārapālaprabandha of Jinamaṇḍana * Jayasimha was called Siddha, because he subjugated this Bābarā Bhūta as he is called in the Gujarati. × The protection that was ensured to his people by the defeat of this

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+ Śloka 125. येन नक्तंचरः सोऽपि युद्धे बर्बरको जितः ।
[वाग्भटालङ्कार. परि. ४; १२५.]

The commentary of Simhadevagaṇi on the V. L. quotes another verse which also seems to be contemporary.

जय जय बब्बरजिष्णो विष्णोरवतार भूप जयसिंह ॥ (Ibid p. 17).

* सिद्धो बर्बरकश्चास्य सिद्धराजस्ततोऽभवत् ।

× Regarding Barbaraka, see B. G. Vol. I, foot-note p. 174. In the Mahābhārata, in one list of Anaryan tribes, Barbaras are mentioned between Kirātas and Siddhas. May it not be that Jayasimha was called Siddharāja because he subjugated these Anaryans who were also called Siddhas ? In south Kathiawad, there is a province called Babariāwāḍa. Probably they were pirates and were very wealthy. See also The History of Saurāshṭra by Bhagvanlal Sampatram pp. 63 – 65. The identification of Barbaras with Rabāris is an interesting hypothesis.

Barbaraka entitled him to assume the title of Siddhachakravartin – the Siddha Emperor.

The same titles continue in the colophon of the year V. S. 1179 (A. D. 1123), and in the two colophons of the year V. S. 1191 (A. D. 1135). This may indicate that his main victories were yet to come.

Hemachandra devotes the thirteenth canto of the D. K. to the description of Jayasimha's nocturnal rounds in the city and outside to hear what people say and to remove their grievances. When once on such a round, he came to the river Sarasvatī and crossed it. He heard from the Daṣāvatāri Ārāma near the river, (that is a park where there was a Daṣavatarī temple,) a moaning sound. There he finds the king of Nāgas – Ratnachūda and his wife. This Ratnachūda was of Bhogavatī in Pātāla. He helps this Ratnachūda by taking out salt–water from a well infested with wasps ahd saves him from suicide. How this incident mentioned in a contemporary work can be interpreted, I do not know. +

We learn from the Prabhāvakacharita that in V. S. 1181–A. D. 1125 the famous controversy between Kumudachandra – the Digambara and Devasūri – the Ṣvetāmbara was held in the court of Jayasimha. We shall have occassion to refer to this event later on. *

+ Bhogavatī in Pātāla has recently been identified with Khambhata (Cambay) bv Mr. Ratnamanirao Zote. Has this episode anything to do with the incident mentioned by Muhumad Ufi in the Jame – ul – Hikayata? See N. P. P. Vol. IX, p. 291, Pt. Oza's article.

* The Mudrita – kumudachandra which has for its plot the

The second colophon of the V. S. 1191-A. D. 1135 is of the month Fālguna – the year beginning with the month of Chaitra. In the colophon of the month of Jyeṣhṭha in the year V. S. 1192 A. D. 1136, that is about three months later we find the additional title of Avantīnātha – Lord of Avanti. This shows that Jayasimha got his final decisive victory over Mālava within these three months.

The P. P. S., the P. C. and other works give many details about this war with Mālava. One is that this war lasted for twelve years. If this tradition is correct we can say that the war in the reign of Jayasimha must have begun in the year V. S. 1180. This does not mean that Jayasimha was out of Aṇahillapura fighting for these twelve years. For, as we saw, in the year V. S. 1181, Kumudachandra and Devasūri held their dialectical duel in his presence at Anahillapura. It was only the last attack that Jayasimha led personally. This is the impression that we derive from the D. K. also.

The fourteenth canto of the poem is devoted to this episode. We are told that as Jayasimha used to go out for his usual morning-ride on a male or female elephant or on a horse, no body could suspect

debate of Devasūri and Kumudachandra has two verses describing Jayasimha. In this play, he is generally referred to as Siddharāja. From these verses we learn that Jayasimha had brought Barbaraka under his subjection, that he could frighten Śākinīs (evil spirits embodied in female forms) and assemble Yoginīs and that the 'Vīra' that he was – he was wandering freely in the cemetery at night with his sword in his hand. (P. 21 Act II, V. 21, p. 50 Act V v. 14). As the conquest of Mālava is not referred to, the play was probably written before V. S. 1192.

anything about his nightly vigilence, and that people were consequently surprised to find that Jayasimha knew everything about them. So they thought that he was a superhuman being – a Vidyādhara (v. 3). This was probably the popular belief about Jayasimha even in his own times. In those days such beliefs were common and easily formed. Hemachandra tells us that Jayasimha would even accost the Ṣākinīs and Yoginīs – super-natural female embodiments of spirits and take them to task if they troubled his people. Once when on such a nocturnal round, he met the Yoginī Kāli of Avanti who threatened Jayasimha with her displeasure if he did not offer worship to her and make friends with Yaṣovarman – king of Avanti, that is, Mālava. The king asked her to do her worst and protect her devotee Yaṣovarman whom he was going to catch alive in battle. He told her if he did not succeed in that he would then offer her worship.

The king seizing his sword gathered his army and started immediately (v. 20). With lightning speed he appeared on the shores of the Siprā. A seige was laid round Ujjayinī and instructions were given by Jayasimha to raze the ramparts to the ground.

In the evening, the operations were suspended and Jayasimha went out to see the beauty of the surroundings of Ujjayinī. There he finds the Yoginīs Kāli and others—the guardian-spirits of Ujjayinī – talking and conspiring to kill him. In the fight that follows he spares Kāli and her friends because they were women. 'Being the son of a good mother, + he

+ Sammātṛatvena. The commentator explains as: 'because

was naturally compassionate' (v. 64). Kāli the guardian spirit of Ujjayinī was pleased with his generosity and promises that Jayasimha would conquer Yaṣovarman and other kings. (66 – 68).

Yaṣovarman comes to know of this incident and flies away that very night to Dhārā which was a 'Sudurga' – a better fort – (v. 70). In the morning Jayasiṃha led his soldiers and Ujjayinī was 'broken'. He himself proceeded to Dhārā and "This great hero of the Chālukyas, like a dancer dancing his sword on the battle–field, seized the lord of Mālavas who had entered Dhārā' (v. 72). The king Yaṣovarman was then made a prisoner. (v. 73).

This is a how Hemachandra describes the greatest event of Jayasimha's reign. Presumably it only touches the last expedition of the great war of twelve years. The super–natural element of Yoginīs is difficult to explain, though it does not come in the way of understanding the event. Jayasiṃha's meeting of Ujjayinī's Yoginī Kāli in Aṇahillapura might signify that Jayasimha was not successful in the early stages of the war, that overtures for making a friendly alliance with Yaṣovarman were made to Jayasimha, and that he rejected them.

Tradition has preserved many details of this war with Mālava. Some of them may be noted here. We learn from the Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra that it was Barbaraka who built a sort of bridge on the river Siprā (Pari IV v. 152), presumably to enable the army to cross it.

According to the G.manuscript of the P. P. S. 'when deliberation on the conduct of war was being

he was the son of Mayaṇallā who was a sammātā because she possessed all the qualities like compassion etc.'

held with the minister Āliga, a Chāraṇa that is a minstrel said ' Dhārā cannot be taken by people having religious marks * on their fore-heads ! Jesal who can beat even Yama – Lord of Death should come. ' A letter was sent to Jesala who was then a prisoner. After consulting his father, Jesala led the attack on Dhārā riding a powerful elephant named Yaṣahpaṭaha or Jasapaḍaha. The elephant rushed at the gate and smashed it, but at the cost of his own and Jesala's life (p. 35).

According to the P. C., when Jayasimha could not take the fort of Dhārā, he consulted Munjāla–a minister from his father's time–who informed the king that he had learnt from his emissaries in Dhārā that they had over-heard an inhabitant of the place saying " If the army of the enemy attacks the south gate, Dhārā could be stormed otherwise not." Jayasimha personally led the attack riding his powerful elephant Yaṣahpaṭaha with Ṣāmala as the driver. ' The elephant charged the big iron bar fastening the gates and broke it, but he was ' broken within,' and as the driver after making the son of Karṇa (Jayamsimha) descend, was himself getting down, the elephant fell on the ground. As the elephant died like a warrior, he took the form of Vināyaka under the name of Yaṣodhavala (the god Gaṇapati) in the village of Vaḍasara.' This means

* एहे टीलालेहिं धार न लीजइं करणउत्र ।
जम जेहे प्रउंचेहि जोइइ जेसलु आवतउ ॥

(p. 35) (See also p. 23.)

This is a fling at the religious people in the army. It is known that Bāwas formed a considerable part of the king's army in those days. See the B. G. Vol. I. p. 14. Or it may be a fling at the Jaina ministers and generals of the army.

that a memorial was raised in his honour in the form of a white Gaṇapati – image in that village. The P. C. quotes a verse in praise of this Vināyaka suggesting this incident (p. 59).

The triumphal march of the conquering hero riding on a majestic elephant with the royal prisoner Yaṣovarman of Mālava bearing in his hand a wooden sword * through Anahillapura must have been an occasion of the greatest jubilation in the history of that city. Contemporary inscriptions in verse and prose mention the defeat and imprisonment of Yaṣovarman in so many words as if it had become a part of the royal writ. The Prabandhas dilate upon the occasion. Many must have been the panegyrics sung by bards and poets. A few of these, in the Samskṛta, the Prākṛta and the Apabhramṣa, have been preserved in the Prabandhas and other works. ×

We saw from the colophons that the conquest of Mālava took place between V. S. 1191 month of Fālguna and V. S. 1192, month of Jyeshṭha — the year being

* According to the P. C. the wooden sword was substituted for the real sword at the suggestion of the minister Munjāla who threatened to resign if Jayasimha refused to act according to his advice. If these incidents mentioned by the P. C. are historical, Munjāla must have been very old at the time of Mālava victory; because he was a Mahāmātya of Karṇa in the year V. S. 1146 A. D. 1090.

× Hemachandra himself composed about sixteen stanzas placed at the end of his grammar Siddha – Hema. Some more are given in the Chhandonuṣāsana and other works. Vāgbhata in his Alamkāra and Vardhamānasūri in his Gaṇaratnamahodadhi give verses referring to this event.

a Chaitrādi that is one beginning with the month of Chaitra (A. D. 1136). The final battle must have taken place within these three months. We find in a mutilated inscription of V. S. 1193 – A. D. 1137 discovered at Gala (in Dhrangadhara State, Kathiawada,) among Jayasimha's titles, the title of Avantīnātha, that is Lord of Avantī, also. This is a further corroborative evidence of his victory over Mālava.

This inscription refers to some temple of the Goddess Ṣrī Bhattarikā Ṣrī Devatā and a small temple of Gaṇapati in Drumatīrtha Khāṇi. Something is done by five people – panchakula – * one of whose names can be red as Pāri, Srī Kumara, another as Pāri Kera ...... The Mahāmātya or the Chief minister was Ambāprasāda in charge of the treasury – Vyayakaraṇa. The engraver was Maho......K.

A later inscription of V. S. 1195 = A. D. 1139 found at Ujjain (Ujjayinī) in Mālava mentions the defeat of Yaṣovarman in so many words. We find all the titles of Jayasimha in this inscription – Mahārājādhirāja Parameṣvara, Tribhuvanagaṇḍa, Siddha Chakravarti, Avantinātha, Barbarakajishṇu, Ṣrī Jayasimhadeva – vijaya–rājye.

This inscription, though incomplete, gives us other important information also. We learn that Mahattama + Srī Dādāka was minding the 'Ṣrīkaraṇādi' affairs, i. e. chief ministerial functions. He was a Nāgara. His son Mahādeva who was the principal military officer in Mālava was also the

* This word generally means a tax – collector.

+ Mahattama appears to be the Samskṛta original of the Gujarati surname Mehta.

Governor of the place. It appears that he or his father was one of the principal generals of Jayasimha in his war with Mālava.

Another inscription of the same year but found at Bhadreṣvara in Cutch gives us similar information. The two additional titles are–Dhārāviḍambaka, (molester of Dhārā) and Trailokyamalla – (champion of the three worlds). The prime minister at Anahillapāṭaka was Ṣrī Dādāka. Something is given for the worship of Ṣri Udāleṣvara and Sri Kurapāleṣvara in a new temple built by Sri Kurapāla – son of Sri Āsapāla, son of Toḍi, son of Mahārāja. The inscription is incomplete.

The inscription of V. S. 1196 = A. D. 1140 found at Dohad gives us some more historical information. Excepting the last line, the whole of it is in verse. It begins with a Namaskāra to Vāsudeva. We learn from it that Jayasimha had thrown into prison the kings of Surāshṭra and Mālava (v. 1); he, also, had uprooted other kings, and made the kings of the north carry his orders (v. 2). In the third verse, his capital Aṇahilla-pāṭakanagara whose temples obstruct the path of the sun is compared to Ayodhyā of Rāma. The fourth verse tells us that the Vāhinīpati (probably meaning captain of a battalion) Keṣava was made the general of the army in the Dadhipadra District (Dohad District) by the king residing in the capital. The fifth verse informs us that this general Keṣava built a temple in honour of Goganārāyaṇa in memory of his mother in Dadhipadra. *

*An inscription of V. S. 1198 – A. D. 1142 of the subordinate king Someṣvara has been found at Kiradu in the Jodhapur–state.

An inscription discovered at Sambhara consisting of twenty

The defeat and imprisonment of the ruler of Surāshṭra and the uprooting of Sindhurāja and other kings and the submission of northern kings are the new historical facts gathered from this inscription. The D. K. does not mention any one of these events excepting that Jayasimha 'after putting under check the roguish kings made the way to Kedāradeva safe' (XV 14). This may refer to northern kings.

The defeat of Sindhurāja, however, is referred to by Hemachandra in his Chhandonuṣāsana (p, 12) and by Vāgbhaṭa in his Alaṃkāra (p. 57).

Who this Sindhurāja was is not yet settled. According to Simhadevagaṇi, a commentator of the Vāgbhaṭālamkāra, he was Sindhudeṣādhipa, i. e. the lord of Sindh. But, as the B. G. says "Nothing is known regarding the Sindh war."

In the K. K., and in the Vasanta-vilāsa mahākāvya, however, we find that Saṇkha whose other name was Sangrāmasiṃha is called the son of Sindhurāja. * Again in the K. K. we find that Ṣankha asks Vastupāla to hand over Cambay to him, 'because as you know, this city was subject to my father (– pitṛbhukti,)' while Vastupāla answers him that it was taken by Nṛpasiṃha

– eight verses but unfortunately very much mutilated gives the whole geneology of the Chālukya family. After the eleventh verse, however, the inscription is so broken that we are not able to make much sense of what remains. We learn from it that in V. S. 998, Mūlarāja was reigning. But, the date of the inscription itself is destroyed.

Another small and broken inscription without date found at Girinãra refers to the Jaina Tirthankara Neminātha. It mentions the ruling king as Siddha Chakrapati Ṣrī Jayasinghadeva.

after fighting with Siṃha who was assisted by 'cavalry-men.' The reference is undoubtedly to Jayasimha and Sindhurāja because we find that the K. K. when referring to Jayasimha's fight with Sindhurāja mentions the attribute 'of having a strong cavalry' with reference to Sindhurāja. On the strength of these references, Muni Jinavijayaji, I think, rightly identifies Sindhurāja whom Jayasimha uprooted as the father of Ṣankha who wanted to take back Cambay which was a part of Lāṭa from Vastupāla. ×

We cannot, however, say in which year this defeat of Sindhurāja took place. It, however, did take place before V. S. 1196 – A. D. 1140.

As to the other event mentioned by the inscription, viz; the defeat and imprisonment of the ruler of Surāshtra, we find corroboration for it in the Siddh-Hema grammar of Hemachandra. In the two examples 'अरुणत् सिद्धराजोऽवन्तीन्' and 'अजयत् सिद्धः सौराष्ट्रान्' we find references to these two important events of J's reign. We can also infer from the uses of tenses that the conquest of Ṣaurāshṭras must have taken place earlier than the siege of Avantis. Again in a verse attributed to Rāmachandra – a pupil of Hemachandra – by the P. C., Jayasiṃha is called 'Giridurgamalla' i. e. "Champion of Giridurga or Junāgadha" (p. 63).

The K. K., the P. P. S., and the P. C. – all mention this event in some detail. The bardic accounts of Soraṭha are full of it and have represented the whole episode as a tragic romance woven round the beautiful Rāṇakadevī whom Jayasimha loved, but whom Khengara of Jungadha managed to marry and who thus gave cause for a war which ended in Khengara's

destruction. The Sorațhās (couplets) put into the mouth of Rāṇakadevī are full of poignant pathos, but it is a question whether they are useful as historical material. The existence of Rāṇakadevī herself is even doubtful.

From the K. K., we only learn that Jayasimha crushed the very powerful Khengāra of Surāshṭra in the battle as a lion kills an elephant (C. II. v. 25). The V. T. K. (p. 9) also gives the name as Khengārarāya; so does the P. P. S. (pp. 32, 54). But the P. C. gives the name as Navaghaṇa. Now from the accounts of the bards, it appears that when Jayasimha came to the throne Navaghaṇa who was a very powerful man was the ruler of Junagadha. Jayasiṃha had once defeated this Navaghaṇa on the border of Gujarata and Kathiawada and humiliated him. Khengara his successor was made to vow by his dying father that he would break the gates of Aṇahillapura, which he did when Jayasimha was engaged in Mālava. The immediate cause of war with Khengara, according to the bards, was Rāṇakadevī. *

* According to the P. P. S., it was Udayana of Cambay who killed Khengāra (pp. 32, 34). According to the same authority Udayana was killed in battle while fighting with Sāngaṇ Dodiāka. According to the Kathiawar Gazeteer, the Thanadar of Jayasimha was expelled and Noghana III seated on the throne (p. 444). According to the Pr. Cha. Udayana was mortally wounded while fighting under Kīrtipāla brother of Kumārapāla, who was sent to fight Navaghaṇa of Surāshṭra-maṇḍala. This Navaghaṇa must be Noghaṇa the third (Pr. Cha. p. 332.) See Saurāshṭra desano Itihāsa Part I by Bhagvanlal Sampatram, pp. 104 – 111, and the Gazeteer of the Bombay Presidency. Vol. VIII, Kathiawar, pp. 493 – 494.

According to the bardic accounts, Khengāra was killed in battle; but according to our inscription he was only imprisoned.

The name of Rāṇakadevī is given neither by the P. P. S. nor by the P. C. The P. P. S. gives the name as Sonaladevī, while the P. C. as Sunaladevī. The P. P. S. quotes eleven while the P. C. eight Apabhraṃsa verses, supposed to be uttered by Sonaladevī, after Khengāra met a hero's death in battle.

It is not known in which year this event took place. The B. G., on the basis of an inscription on Girinar of V. S. 1176 – A. D. 1120, thinks that Sajjana was a Governor of Surāshṭra by that time. There is, however, only one inscription of Jayasimha's time on Girināra that I am able to trace and that one gives no date and does not mention Sajjana. But from the V. T. K., we learn that, in V. S. 1185, Sajjana, as the Governor of the place, built a temple of Neminātha; while the P. C. tells us that Sajjana spent three years' revenue in building the temple. If the account of the P. C. is to be relied upon, we can say, that Sajjana was the Governor of Surāshṭra in V. S. 1181 – 82 A. D. 1125 – 26. * Surāshṭra might have been conquered before A. D. 1125 – 26.

Thus there is no direct evidence from which we can know the year in which Ra'Khangara was defeated and taken prisoner. The inscription in the Sodhalivāva of Mangarol in Kathiawar, however, gives some clue. It gives its date in two eras V. S. 1202 and Srî

* Noghana III died in 1140 A. D. (K. G. p. 494) If Kumārapāla's brother Kīrtipāla fought with this Naughana it must have been after V. S, 1199 = 1143 A. D.

Simha Samvat 32. No doubt, this Ṣrî Simha Samvat prevalent in Saurāshtra refers to the era inaugerated by Jayasimha to commemcrate some important event. We know of no other important event other than defeating the powerful king of Junagadha. If Simha era was intended to commemorate this event we can say that Khengara must have been defeated in the year V. S. 1170 = A. D. 1114.

Two other political events of Jayasimha's reign may be mentioned here: one of them is his march against Madanavarman of Mahobaka (in Bundelkhand). According to the K. K. the lord of Mahobaka under the pretext of hospitality gave him fine (II. 3). The P. P. S. and the Prabandharatnakoṣa also narrate this episode. But from an inscription found at Kalinjara we learn that Madanavarman defeated the king of Gujarata. It appears that the whole episode ended in a friendly alliance. *

From an inscription found at Talavada, we learn that Jayasimha defeated one Paramardi.

Pt. Oza identifies him with Paramardi of Kalyāṇa in the south who was known as Vikramāditya VI. +

Thus we find that by the year V. S. 1196 = A. D. 1140 Jayasimha's conquests were almost complete. Not only did Jayasimha consolidate the dominion which he inherited from his father, but he added Mālava which at that time included Mevāda as a part of its dominion. His was truly an empire in the proper sense of the word. For, in addition to Gujarata and

* N. P. P. Vol. IV p. 286 Pt. Oza's article on Jayasimha.

+ Ibid p. 286.

Surāshṭra proper, his sway extended beyond Ajmer *in the north, to Cutch and Sindha in the N. W.*, Mevāda in the N. E. and Mālava in the east. In the south, Karṇa's authority extended beyond Navasari; while Jayasimha's authority extended as far as Kalyāna (in the Nizām's dominion). As we shall see this empire was further strengthened and extended by Jayasimha's successor Kumārapāla.

We saw that after conquering Mālava, he put Mahādeva as his Governor in Ujjayinī and Keṣava in Dadhipadra or Dohada. After defeating Sindhurāja of Lāṭa, Udayana seems to have been made a governor at Cambay (the P. P. S. p. 32). So also after imprisoning Khengāra, Jayasimha appointed Sajjana as the Governor of Surāshṭra. It appears to be a feature of Jayasimha's policy that he generally annexed the country he coquered to his own dominion and that he appointed his own officers to govern them on his behalf. He was, one may say, a believer in the policy of 'thorough'. This is probably the meaning of a Prākṛta verse × quoted in the P. C. where Jayasimha is compared to a maker of wicker-work who after breaking all the royal bamboos (families) made one umbrella for the whole world (p. 75).

Jayasimha, however, did not impress his own generation merely as a conqueror. No doubt, the very first attribute with which the K. K. characterizes him is that of Jagajjayin - conqueror of the world; but other sources and especially the tradition show

× स जयउ कूडबरडो तिहूयणमज्झम्मि जेसलनरिन्दो ।
छित्तूण रायवंसे इक्कं छत्तं कयं जेण ॥

him to be a great builder of architectural works so much so that even to-day to the popular mind, Jayasimha is the builder of almost every Hindu architectural remain of some antiquity. As in his war, so in his building - ventures, tradition associates Barbaraka with him as his chief assistant.

There is a verse + quoted in the P. C., which tells us that Jayasimha did FOUR great things which no body could do. These four things are:-A Mahālaya (great temple referring to Rudra Mahālaya) a Mahāyatrā - (great pilgrimage to Someṣvara on foot) a Mahāsaras (- great lake referring to the Sahasralinga lake) and a Mahāsthāna (a great place). We cannot definitely say what is referred to by Mahāsthāna; probably it referes to the great Dānaṣālā built near the lake Sahasralinga - a sort of free boarding and lodging place for students.

The fifteenth canto of the D. K. is devoted to the description of these things.

Hemachandra tells us that in Siddhapura on the bank of the river Sarasvatī, which turns there to the east, Jayasimha built Rudra - Mahālaya (v. 15). Now we know that Rudra - Mahālaya was first built by Mūlarāja, and that much damage was done to it by Barbaraka. So Jayasimha must have repaired or rebuilt the whole temple in a style befitting the conqueror of Ujjayinī where was the famous temple of Mahākāla. It is possible to imagine the magnificence of the great Rudra - Mahālaya even from its ruins.

" The gigantic fragments " says Dr. Burgess,

+ महालयो महायात्रा महास्थानं महासरः ।
यत्कृतं सिद्धराजेन क्रियते तन्न केनचित् ॥

" That still remain, impress the beholder with admiration at the scale and grandeur of the conception....So far as can now be made out, it covered an oblong of about 230 feet by 300 feet, in the centre of which stood the temple – two or three storeys in height, with a Maṇḍapa 50 feet square inside having porches on the east, north and south sides and the shrine on the west. In or round the court, were eleven other shrines to the Rudras. The court was perhaps surrounded by small cells after the manner of some of the Jaina temples, with the principal entrance on the east and a ghāt or flight of steps down to the Sarasvatī river on that side. Of this splendid temple only a few magnificent fragments remain, the four pillars of the north porch, and five of the east porch to the Maṇḍapa– one being an engaged pillar inside the door, four pillars in the back of the Maṇḍapa, a beautiful toraṇa or Kīrtistambha – and one cell at the back of the court; also a number of pillars and doors of three other cells, possibly all in situation which have been turned into a mosque about 57 feet in length." *

We learn from the Upadeṣataraṅgiṇī of Ratnamandira (cir. 15th cen. A. D.) that Ṣāliga of Deṣalahara family repaired the temple-of Rudra Mahālaya and ' again gave youth to the fame of Ṣrī Jayasimhadeva.'

The P. C. tells us that this Rudramahākālaprāsāda was twenty – three hands in measurement. This means that the garbhagṛha – or the inner hall in which the principal image was seated – was twentythree hands in height. The other parts of the temple must have

* Burgess and Cousens Archeological Survey : Northern Gujarat. pp. 59 – 60. See also the plate facing p. 64.

been in proportion to this central building. We learn from it also that there were 'statues of Aṣvapatis (-Masters of Horses-), Gajapatis (Masters of Elephants,) Narapatis-(Masters of Men,) and that in front of these statues was the statue of Jayasimha himself with his hands folded in the pose of a devotee before Ṣiva praying that the temple may never suffer destruction.' When the flag was hoisted on the Rudramahākālaprāsāda, the flags from the Jaina temples were lowered (p. 61).

A composition in the Apabhramṣa of the poet Gadda describing the Rudra-Mahālaya is quoted in the Upadeṣataranginī of Ratnamandira mentioned above. The text of the poem is not correctly printed but from the last line it appears that the poem was addressed to Jayasimha Chakravarti personally; so presumably it must be a contemporary record. From it, we learn, 'there were 1444 'varas' (?) + 1700 pillars, 1800 pūttalis set with jewels and rubies and garments of silver, thirty thousand flag-staffs, and 10,000 golden kalaṣas and fifty-six kodi (which may mean either 56 crores or 56 twenties) images of horses and elephants.' Says the poet Gadda, the temple delights gods and men. Oh Chakravartin Jayasimha! your fame shines in this famous place!' (pp. 64-65). There are other ballads in old Gujarati giving different figures for pillars etc.

We learn from an old unpublished prabandha that the minister Āliga was appointed to look after the

+ The meaning of this word is not clear. It might refer to vārāṅganās-dancing damsels. Or there might be some mistake in the reading.

building of the temple, that Aliga himself built a Chaturmukha-temple known as Rājavihāra at his own expense in Siddhapura, and that the king being pleased with him granted him several villages in V. S. 1198 = A. D. 1142. If Jayasimha commenced the rebuilding of Rudra – Mahālaya after his conquest of Mālava in 1192–A. D. 1136, we can say, it took him six years to complete the work–not too long a time, looking to the gigantic work.+

The D. K. tells us in the next verse (16) that Jayasimha built at the same place a temple of the last Arhat, and put certain Brāhmaṇas to look after it. This means that Jayasimha built a temple of Mahāvīra in Siddhapura. This is the first reference in the D. K. – to something specifically Jaina. In the next verse (17) we are told that the king properly honoured the Ārhata Saṃgha. It is difficult to reconcile this contemporary reference with the P. C.'s account that flags were removed from the Jaina temples.

After this Hemachandra describes the second great thing that Jayasimha did – his pilgrimage to Somanātha on foot (v. 18–36). The description of the pilgrimage is interesting from many points of view, but we cannot go into its details here. × In Devapattana Jayasimha was received by Gaṇḍa who was in charge

+ Ṣāliga who repaired the temple was a brother to the famous Samarāsā. They were contemporaries of Allauddin Khilaji; both the brothers were important and influential personages in the time of Islamic rule in Aṇahillapura.

+ We learn from verse 26 that the names of the three of Jayasimha's queens were Kuntī, Avantī and Kurū. Probably these are not their proper names, but their names after the provinces of their birth.

of the city. The king worships Ṣiva who appears to him in person and blesses him " Be thou now Siddhirāt by Suvarṇa-siddhi through which you have removed the indebtedness of the earth "-v. 50. This is the explanation of the word Siddhirāja given by Hemachandra.

The king requests the god to grant him a son, but Ṣambhu touching his hairy head tells him " your brother Tribhuvanapāla's son Kumārapāla will be king after you " and disappears (v. 54-56).

From Somanātha, Jayasimha goes to Raivataka or Girinar mountain and there pays his respects to Nemi the twenty-second Jaina Tīrthankāra (vs. 63 - 88). Then he granted Simhapura and other villages to Brāhmaṇas (v. 97-98) and returned to his capital (v. 100). Then comes the description of the sacrifices he performed and we are told that whenever doubts arose as to certain rituals, Jayasimha himself removed them (108). That showed how learned he was (vs. 104-113) !

After these Ishta - Karmans comes the great Pūrta - the construction of the Great Lake (114). This was the third great thing that he did which others can never do.

Near the banks of the lake, he built Satraṣālas for Brāhmaṇas (115). These Satraṣālas were congested with students coming there for food (116). On the bank of the lake he built 1008 temples of Ṣambhu (117) and 108 temples of goddesses. Near the same lake, he built a temple of Daṣāvatāra (that is a temple containing images of the ten incarnations of Vishṇu, v. 119). There also he built maṭhas (according to the commentator, residencies for students and others) to please professors of different departments of learning. (11).

He built these temples to gods as if he was raising big monuments to his fame (123).

This great lake of Jayasimha Siddharāja known as Siddhasara or Siddhasāgara or more popularly as Sahasralinga-talāva, with its 1008 Ṣiva temples and 108 Devī temples and numerous other fanes and with its Kīrtistambha shining like a silvery column, must have made the surroundings of Aṇahillapura-pattana magnificent. Satraṣālās and Maṭhas providing for various departments of learning must have made the area something like a University-suburb. The surrounding wood-land beauty, with its touch of nature, must have made it a thing to tickle the imagination. From the few descriptions that have survived, we can say that many contemporary and later poets must have sung the sacred majesty of the beautiful lake. A praṣasti, by Ṣrīpāla, the poet-laureate of Jayasimha's court, was inscribed on the Kīrtistambha - a slab of which has been discovered.

The description in the K. K. gives a graphic picture of the city and the lakes as they appeared after one or two generations. *

Coming to the great personages of the times, it is the Queen - Mother Mayaṇallā or Minaldevī as she is known to Gujarat, who first commands our attention. This princess of Karṇāṭaka who for sheer love went all the way to Gujarata to marry its king Karṇa has been well described by Hemachandra. The life-long intense attachment of this royal couple which was not

* For a detailed accout see Saraswati Purāṇa and the excellent monograph on Siddhasara by Mr. Kanaiyalal B. Dave.

blessed with an offspring for a long time appears to have touched the imagination of Hemachandra.

Mayaṇallā after the death of her husband spent her life in a religious manner – going to pilgrimages and building works of public utility. Whether she took any part in the affairs of the state–we have no evidence to judge. According to the P. C., as we saw, she got the pilgrim–tax of Somanātha removed through her son. But this was a religious act, surely not a service to the state. Her holiness is particularly emphasised by the story of the 'Jar of Sin' in the P. C.

It appears Jayasimha was greately attached to his mother. When, after conquering Mālava, on his return to Aṇahillapura, he was being congratulated with Mangala verses, he seems to have been poignantly reminded of his mother who was then dead. The sentiment that Jayasimha must have given vent to is expressed in a verse quoted by the Prabandhkoṣa, as being uttered by the king. "Let no woman give birth to a son like this (referring to himself) whose luck bore its greatest fruit after the death of his mother!"+

Two lakes – one at Viramgama and the other at Dholka–named after her have survived.

Of the other great political figures of Jayasimha's reign, we may mention Sampatkara or Santu, Munjāla, Āsvāka, Dādāka, Mahādeva, Keṣava, and Udayana.

We have already referred to Sampatkara as the chief minister in the time of Karṇa. He was probably a native of Baroda. His father's name was Varṇāg

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मा स्म सिमन्तिनी कापि जनयेत् सुतमीदृशम् ।
बृहद् भाग्यफलं यस्य मृतमातुरनन्तरम् ॥

P. K. p. 115.

and mother's name was Sampūrī. In the begining, he was a governor of Lāṭa in Bhṛgukachha. Being a great statesman, he was made the chief minister by Karṇa. The Karṇasundarī of Bilhaṇa was acted in his temple. His engrossment in state affairs, – so much so that he has no time to talk to his children or his newly married wives – his proficiency in state – craft, and his success in political affairs are specially mentioned by Bilhaṇa. He is described as surpassing even famous ministers like Yauganadharāyaṇa of the past. Gujarat's alliance with the southern Kadamba family of Karnatak through marriage, was probably the result of his policy. He had sent an army under the General Sāchchika to fight the Sultan of Gajni whom it defeated on the banks of the Sindhu.

When Madanavarman, the maternal uncle of Karṇa, grew turbulent in Aṇahillapura, Sampatakara managed to get him killed in a fracas of soldiers.

We have seen how Sampatakara managed to send away Naravarman of Mālava who attacked Aṇahillapura in the absence of Jayasimha. The P. C. tells us that when Jayasimha was returning from one of his early expeditions against Mālava Samtu cleared the way for the king by suppressing the turbulent Bhillas (p. 75).

It appears, however, the old minister who had trained young Jayasimha for kingship was growing distasteful to the young ambititious monarch who once insulted him. Sampatakara resigned his post and left Gujarata for Mālava. We know from the colophon of V. S. 1179-A. D. 1123 that he was minister till then, but in V. S. 1180-A.D. 1124 Āṣuka was minister. So he must have resigned about that time. He, however, remained

steadfast in loyalty to his king. Jayasimha came to know of this and repented of his conduct with the old minister and called him back. When Sampatakara was returning to Gujarata, he died on the way at a place called Āhaḍa on the border line of Mevāḍa and Mālava, the original site of Udaipur.

Mūnjāla, we learn from a colophon of a ms., was a mahāmātya great minister of Karṇa in V. S. 1146–A. D. 1090. The P. C. tells us that Mūnjāla managed to substitute Mayaṇallā in place of a low-born woman whom Karṇa loved. But this whole episode is, as we saw, without any historical foundation. The second reference to Mūnjāla in the P. C. informs us that when Jayasimha could not take Dhārā, Mūnjāla, on the strength of his secret information, asked Jayasimha to attack by the southern gate. Again it was at the suggestion of Mūnjāla that a wooden sword was given instead of a real sword to Yaṣovarman in the triumphal march when he was seated behind Jayasimha. If Munjāla lived so long as to do all these things, he must have been very old indeed !

From V. S. 1179–80–A. D. 1123–24, Āsvāka or Āṣuka seems to have occupied the position of one of the chief ministers. From the M.K.C., we learn that Mahattara Gāngila was the prime minister in V. S. 1181–A. D. 1125.

We know from the two inscriptions of V. S. 1192–A. D. 1136 that Dādāka was the prime minister at Aṇahillapura. But nothing more is known about this Nāgara prime minister at the time of the great Mālava victory. His son Mahādeva was the Governor of Mālava.

In the inscription of V. S. 1193 Ambāprasāda is referred to as the Mahāmātya and in charge of–Vyayakaraṇa – treasury.

25

From the inscription of V. S. 1196–A. D. 1140, we learn that Keṣava was a general of the army and the Governor of the Dohada district. He was a Vaishṇava and built the temple of Goga Nārāyaṇa at Dadhipadra or Dohada in memory of his mother.

Udayana was a Governor of Stambhatirtha. We shall speak of him later on.

What impression Jayasimha and his capital Aṇahillapura created upon a foreigner, we gather from the following account of the geographer Al – Idrisi who visited his court (C. H. I. Vol. III 517).

" The city of Nahrvala is governed by a great prince called the Balhara. He has troops of elephants, worships Buddha, wears a gold crown and dresses in rich robes. He generally rides a horse, especially once a week, when, with a hundred women richly clothed with gold and silver rings on their hands and feet, their hair in braids, he gives himself up to games and show-fights. The ministers and commanders only go with the king on occasion of battle. The chief strength of the king lies in the elephants. His title Balhara means the king of kings. The city is frequented by a great number of Musalman merchants who resort to it in business. They are well received by the king and his officers and find protection and security. The Indians by nature are inclined to justice. Their good faith, loyalty and faithfulness are so well known that every one hears that their country is prosperous. As a proof of their love of honesty, if a creditor is anxious to receive a debt, he has only to draw a line round his debtor who will not move till he has satisfied his creditor or the debt is paid. The people eat grain

and vegetables and animals that die a natural death. They never take away animal life. They have a great respect for cattle and bury them when they die; when they get past work, they feed them."

How equitably Jayasimha behaved with Mussalmans is seen from the report of an incident in Khambhat by Muhammed Ufi in his Jame-ul-Hikayata +

The following story of the gram-seller from the P. C. shows what tales – real or unreal – had formed round the popular king. "Once the king was witnessing a play at night in a temple known as Karṇameruprāsāda. At the time a gram-seller – just a bania – put his hand on the king's shoulder. The king got interested in the bania's jolly manner. (Presumably this has reference to the bania's jolly and friendly remarks as the play was proceeding). The king offered him a beetle-leaf with camphor which the latter took with great delight. After the play was over, the king, through his men, inquired of his whereabouts and sent for him in the morning to go to his court. The king complained that, his neck was aching on account of the weight of the bania's hand. The bania realized the whole thing, but answered with his ready-wit: "Your Majesty ! you carry the burden of the whole earth on your shoulder, and even then it does not feel it; how can it feel the pain of the burden of a bania's hand – just like the blade of a grass ?" The king was pleased with the man's sense of propriety and gave him handsome reward" (pp. 70-71).

From the Vāgbhaṭalamkāra and a verse of Śrīpāla quoted under the name of Kavirāja by Somaprabha.

+ N. P. P. Vol. IX p. 291.

chāraya in his commentary on his Ṣatāratha Kāvya, we learn that Jayasimha's banner bore the sign of a red-crested cock on it (V. L. Pari. 4. v. 81 and Introduction to the K. Pra. p. 11.)*

Yaṣahpaṭaha was his favourite elephant who was killed while breaking open the gates of Dhārā. From the Vāgbhaṭālamkāra, we learn that Jayasimha had also another elephant named Ṣrī Kalaṣa whom the author mentions as one of the three jewels of the world – the other two being the city of Anahillapāṭaka and the son of the king Karna, i. e. Jayasimha (C. IV. v. 132).×

Of the literary figures and the learned assembly of Jayasimha, I shall speak when we come to describe Hemachandra's life.

The last days of Jayasimha are described in the

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* इन्द्रः स एष यदि किं न सहस्रमक्ष्णां
लक्ष्मीपतिर्यदि कथं न चतुर्भुजोऽसौ ।
आः स्यन्दनध्वजधृतोद्धुरताम्रचूडः
श्रीकर्णदेवनृपसूनुरयं रणाग्रे ॥
रे भूपाः कविराज एष भवतो जल्पत्युदञ्चद्भुजः
पूज्या वश्चरणायुधा परममी युष्मत्कुले देवताः ।
यद् युद्धोत्सवदर्शनैकरसिकः श्रीताम्रचूडध्वजो
देवः पश्यत नाधुना परि...यत्येकातपत्रां महीम् ॥
एकाङ्गवीरतिलको भुवनैकमल्लः
सिद्धाधिपः परमसाहसिकप्रकाण्डः ।
दर्पान्धबर्बरकजिष्णुरवन्तिनाथ–
इत्यूर्जितैर्जयति नामभिरेव देवः ॥

Both these verses are attributed to Kavirāja that is Ṣrīpāla by Somaprabha. (See Introduction Ku. Pra. p. 11).

× अणहिल्लपाटकं पुरमवनिपतिः कर्णदेवनृपसूनुः ।
श्रीकलशनामधेयः करी च रत्नानि जगतीह ॥

last two verses of the 15th canto of the D. K.. Jayasimha remembering the words of the god Somanātha that Kumārapāla was to succeed him after his death, tried for self realisation. Thinking of Parameṣṭhins, he went to the city of Indra + (vs. 123-24.)

According to the P. C., Jayasimha's reign lasted up to the beginning of the year V. S. 1199-A. D. 1143. In a colophon of Mārgaṣirsha of 1199, we find Kumārapala regining in Aṇahillapura. So Jayasimha must have died in the beginning of Kārtika of V. S. 1199. According to the P. P. S. after the death of Jayasimha, his sandals reigned for eighteen days (p. 45). This shows that it took some time before the new king was elected.

15

Of the reign of Kumārapāla, we have more than twenty - three inscriptions, two of them on copper-plates and the remaining on stone. Of these, two stone-inscriptions - one of V. S. 1207 - A. D. 1151 and the other of V. S. 1208-A. D. 1152 and one copper-plate grant, of V. S. 1212-A. D. 1156, are directly connected with Kumārapāla, while the others refer to him as the reigning sovereign.

As to the literary material, there are many Jaina works dealing with Kumārapāla. We shall mention

+ We see that there is a significant difference here in describing the succession. The usual procedure of the reigning king calling his successor to accpt the throne, and the successor first refusing and then accepting it is omitted here. The ugly facts of Kumarapala's succession Hemachandra intentionally omits. This trait of Hemachandra is worth keeping in mind when utilizing the D. K. for historical purposes: it is that rather than narrate false accounts better omit the incidents altogether.

only three contemporary works. These are, in addition to the remaining part of the S. D. K., the Prākṛta Dvyāśraya or the Kumārapālacharita of Hemachandra, the play called Moharājaparājaya and the Kumārapāla-pratibodha of Somaprabhāchārya. Some twenty verses in the Chhandonuśāsana, about 105 verses in the Deśīnāmamālā and a few verses in the Triṣashṭiṣalākā-purushacharita and Pariṣishṭaparva, have Kumārapāla for their subject. Hemachandra is the author of these works.

The Kumārapālaprabandha of Jinamandana has been, up till now, largely drawn upon by scholars.

As we inferred from the D. K. the succession of Kumārapāla to Jayasimha's throne was not in the usual manner. We have no direct contemporary evidence explaining why Jayasimha was averse to the succession of Kumārapāla. According to the D. K. (C. IX v. 70–77) Bhīma I had a son named Kshemarāja who was older than Karṇa. He was asked to accept the crown which he being of a religious temper refused. Karṇa, therefore, mounted the throne and Kshemarāja led a religious life in Dadhisthalī on the Sarasvatī. Kshemarāja had a son named Devaprasāda.

When Karṇa gave his throne to Jayasimha, he asked him to be kind to his brother's son Devaprasāda. Devaprasāda put his son Tribhuvanapāla under the care of Jayasimha and died with Karṇa on the Sarasvatī (D. K. C. X. v. 110 – 115). Jayasimha looked upon Tribhuvanapāla as his own son (X. v. 116). Kumārapāla was a son of this Tribhuvanapāla. The same geneology is given in an unpublished inscription of Chitodagadha quoted by Pt. Oza in his Rajputāne-

ka – Itihāsa (Vol. I, pp. 218 – 19). The geneology of Kumārapāla given by the K. Pratibodha also agrees with this.

Thus Kumārapāla belonged to the senior line of the family and was fully entitled to the throne. We find that the D. K. generally refers to K. as Bhaimi – (that is – a descendent of Bhīma –) as if, thereby, emphasing his rightful claim to the throne. *

* The P. C. however, tells a different tale. According to it Bhīma married a betaera named Bakulādevī or Chaulādevī who was very faithful to him, and had a son by her named Haripāla. This Haripala had a son named Tribhuvanapāla whose son was Kumārapāla. Jayasimha could not bear that a kinsman who, on mother's side, was low-born should succeed him. So he was always seeking for an opportunity to kill Kumārapāla (p. 77).

This account of the P. C. gives a credible explanation of Jayasimha's hostile attitude to Kumārapāla, but differs in its geneology from contemporary accounts and flatly contradicts the D. K. according to which, Kshemarāja was fully legible for the throne. We do not know what was the authority of the P. C. for giving such a humiliating origin to a king, who according to the Jaina sources, was a Parama–Ārhata – a great Jaina king. As it is, we cannot accept it in face of contemporary authorities. For another and a more probable explanation see p. CCI.

The Kumārapāla–prabandha of Jinamaṇḍana gives the same geneology. It gives also additional information about the other relatives of Kumārapāla. The name of the mother of Kumārāpla was Kāśmirādevī. She had three sons Kumārapāla, Mahīpāla and Kīrtipāla. She had two daughters named Premaladevī and Devaladevī. The first was married to Kṛshṇadeva, the master of Śrī Jayasimhadeva's Horse and the second to Arṇorāja, ruler of Śākambhari. Kumarapāla was married by his parents to one Bhopaloa or Bhūpaladevi (p. 18). We learn from the Pra. Cha. (p. 319. v. 392) that this Bhūpāladevī accompanied her husband in his wandering.

The account of the early part of Kumārapāla's life is to be gathered from the Prabandhas. His early travels are, however, referred to by Yaṣahpāla – a contemporary of Kumārapāla–in his play the Moharāja–parājaya (Act I, 28).

According to the P. P. S. when Kumārapāla left Aṇahillapura, through fear of murder, he was about twenty years old. He travelled in various parts of India and made pilgrimage to Kedāranātha seven times. He had to travel incognito for thirty years. He proceeded to Aṇahillapura when he heard of Jayasimha's death in the shop of a shoemaker in Ujjayiṇī (P. P. S. p. 38).

While thus running about to save his life, he was helped by many people. Once when Kumārapāla happened to be in Stambhatīrtha (Cambay), his future kingship was forecast by Hemachandra in presence of Udayana who was then the Governor at Stambhatīrtha. When Kumārapāla could not believe in such an impossible future Hemachandra wrote down the exact date of his coronation as Sam. 1199 Kārtika Vadi 2 Sunday, and gave one copy to Kumārapāla, and another to Udayaṇa for verification. When Kumārapāla was pursued by the soldiers of Jayasimha, he was helped in various ways by Hemachandra; though according to the account of the Pr. Cha. Udayaṇa out of his loyalty to Jayasimha or more probably fear, refused to give quarter to Kumārapāla (Pr. cha. 322 vs. 443 – 444).

Kumārapāla got the throne through the help of his sister's husband. His name is given as Kānhaḍa-deva in the P. C. (p. 78).

Somaprrbhasūrī – a contemporary of Kumārapāla,

gives the following account of his accession to the throne. 'When Jayasimha went to heaven to make friends with the king of gods this earth became sad as lotuses do when the sun sets. Then the ministers, who surpassed the Guru of gods – Bṛhaspati – in intelligence, seeing the kingdom without a protector began to converse like this.' (Then follows the geneology of Kumārapāla from Bhīma I to which we have referred). 'His (Tribhuvanapāla's) son named Kumārapāla is bright, of a pleasant face and like Indra in splendour. He is liberal, brave, and a protector of the helpless. He is endowed with all royal qualities, therefore let us make a king of him; away with others possessing no merits. Thus consulting with one another, and seeking unanimity with palmists, astrologers etc., Kumārapāla was established on the throne by the ministers. Then the whole world became satisfied.' (P. 5 Ku. Prati. G. O. S.)

According to the P. C., Kumārapāla was about fifty years old when he mounted the throne. This he did in V. S. 1199 which is corroborated, as we saw, by a colophon also. We can put Kumārapāla's birth in the year V. S. 1149, one year before Jayasimha came to the throne. Perhaps there was not much difference of age between the uncle and the nephew and as Kumārapāla was a legitimate rival to the throne Jayasimha might have become jealous of him.

According to the P. C., Kumārapāla reigned from V. S. 1199 to V. S. 1230–A. D. 1143–1174 (pp. 95–96).

The first few years of Kumārapāla's reign were very troublesome. But he, being a man of mature age and much experience, gathered from a wandering

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life full of hardships, soon restored order within his kingdom, consolidated his power and extended his empire. It was in his reign that Gurjaradeṣa reached its zenith. Immediately after him its decline began.

The first man to trouble him was his brother-in-law, who was instrumental in getting him the throne. He, however, did not like that Kumārapāla should not only reign but rule and so tried to belittle him publicly. Kumārapāla gave him warning which he did not heed; so he got him severely beaten by his athlets. Thus, according to the P. C., he set a lesson for other Sāmantas who understood that the king was not to be taken lightly (p. 71).

The earliest inscription of his reign, as yet, discovered is of the year V. S. 1202-A. D. 1146 in the step-well of Sodhalivava of Mangrol of the king Mūluka of Gohila dynasty a chief subordinate to Kumārapāla. From this we learn that when Ṣrī Siddharāja died, Kumārapāla 'suddenly occupied the throne of Jayasimha.' This phrase is no doubt significant.

The inscription begins with a beautiful prayer to Ṣiva and after referring to Kumārapāla's accession to the throne goes on to inform us that one Somarāja of Guhila dynasty built a small temple in the name of his father Sāhāra in the jagatī or compound of Somanātha. This inscription provides for the expenses of the worship of Ṣrī Sāhāreṣvara. The grantor is Ṣrī Mūluka. This praṣasti is composed by Parama Pāṣupatāchārya, – Mahāpaṇḍita Ṣrī Pra – Sarvvajṇa. In addition to the V. S. 1202, it gives Ṣrī Simha Samvat 32. This Samvat, no doubt, refers to the era started by Jayasimha probably to commemorate the victory over Ra'Khengāra.

An inscription dated V. S. 1205–A. D. 1149 of Paramāra Someṣvara a subordinate chief of Kumārapāla has been discovered in a temple of Ṣiva in Kirādu in Jodhpur State.

The Chitodagadha inscription of Kumārapāla is dated V. S. 1207–A. D. 1151. This inscription is a long praṣasti of 28 verses. It commemorates the granting of a village for the worship of Hara to the temple known as Samiddheṣvara. It also mentions the granting of an oil mill for the purpose of lighting the temple by the Daṇḍanāyaka – the General–Sajjana. The temple was in charge of the Ṣaiva nun Gaurīdevī a disciple of Bhaṭṭārikā Uttamādevī. The praṣasti is composed by the poet Ṣrī Rāmakīrtti a disciple of Ṣrī Jayakīrtti and the head of the Digambara sect. The praṣasti is written in excellent poetic style.

This inscription mentions the Chālukya dynasty in general terms, refers to Mūlarāja and Siddharāja and then describes Kumārapāla. We learn from it that after defeating the lord of Ṣākambhari and leaving his big army encamped in a village named Ṣālipura Kumārapāla went to Chitrakūṭa, i. e. Chitoda to see its beauty. The poet then describes Chitrakūṭa and the temple of Samiddheṣvara.

We learn from this inscription that before the year V. S. 1207 i. e. before the eighth year of his reign Kumārapāla defeated Arṇorāja the king of Sapādalaksha.

This is the first event of Kumārapāla's reign that the D. K. narrates at great length in three cantos XVI, XVII and XVIII.

We are told in the sixteenth Canto that

'Kumārapāla having come adorned the throne of his forefathers' (v.1). Seeing the energy and vigilance of their sovereign neighbouring chieftains like those of Māheyas (according to the commentary ruler of Godraha or Godhra) and Rāshṭriyas (?) waited upon him (v. 6). Then we are informed that suddenly Anna (Ānāka= Arṇorāja) rose against Kumārapāla. (The commentary explains by saying that ' after the death of Jayasimha seeing that Kumārapāla being a new king would be weak, Ānna opposed him unexpectedly, unexpectedly because there was no cause.) Not only Ānna rose against him, but 'this king of the north (sapādalaksha and other countries) instigated Ballāla the king of the east (i. e. Mālava) to attack the rear of the king of the west (i. e. Kumārapāla.) when he would be engaged in fighting Ānna ' (v. 8). Not only that, Ānna got other kings also to help him (9). A secret emissary of Kumārapāla comes and informs him that ' within a day Ānna would be attacking the boundary of his kingdom ' (v. 13). Some of Kumārpāla's former allies, including Chāhaḍa × the head of the elephant section of his army, had joined the enemy (14–16). The king of Gonarda that is Ballāla who was Kumārapāla's vassal (Rājakīya) had also joined the enemy (17). ' The king curbing his anger considered the whole situation calmly and resolved upon his strategy. He sent his general, according to the commentary, a Brāhamaṇa named Kakka against Ballāla and himself marched against Ānna ' (22–23).

× This Chāhaḍa is different from a son of Udayana of that name. This treacherous Chāhaḍa is referred to as Tyāgabhata by Yaśahpāla in his Moharājaparājaya.

Kumārapāla, however, proceeded in such a way as to give no clue to his purpose. (v. 26). He came to Ābu whose king Vikramasimha was his vassal. Vikramsimha welcomes Kumārapāla and describes Mount Abu and his territory (vs. 35-70).

In this excellent description we find mention made of Achaleṣvara temple, Adinātha temple – presumably the one built by Vimala–and the fair held in honour of Ṣrī Mātā. The river Banas is also referred to. The seventeenth canto is devoted to the descriptions of flower-gathering, bathing, music, dancing, play-acting, putting on clothes of Kusumbha colour, drinking, etc. (XVII-35, 35-75, 76-138).

The eighteenth canto is devoted to the description of the battle between the armies, and the personal combat between Ānna and Kumārapāla (Bhaimi) (v. 101-102). The valour of both of them is admired and their combat is compared to that of Arjuna and Karṇa (101-102). When, however, Anna fell down being wounded by Kumārapāla's iron arrow (103), Kumārapāla did not take the advantage and kill him (104). The army of the enemy was routed (105).

The nineteenth canto opens with Kumārapāla searching for the dead heroes lying on the battle-field (1). A peace-messenger from Ānna comes and praises Kumārapāla's Kshātra Dharma in not taking an undue advantage when Ānna was wounded (4). An offer to continue the same relations as were with Jayasimha is made and accepted. As a token of alliance, Ānna's daughter named Jahlaṇā is offered in marriage; Kumārapāla accepts the offer but requests

that the marriage should take place in Aṇahillapura – (his capital 34).

It must have been after his victory over Anna or Arṇorāja that Kumārapāla went to Chitodagadha and made the grant that is referred to in the inscription of V. S. 1207 already discussed. Kumārapāla must have returned to his capital after this semi-military and semi-religious tour to Chitradurga, to which place he is mentioned as going to see its natural beauty.

Verses 40–90 of the nineteenth canto are devoted to the description of the marriage-festival which is very interesting as throwing good light on social customs and manners of the times which in many respects are similar to those of the modern times in Gujarāta.

As the marriage-ceremony was reaching completion a messenger from the General appointed in Mālava (v. 95) comes and informs Kumārapāla of the victory of his "Gurjara-Brahma-Senanī" (that is the Brāhmaṇa General of Gujarata) over Mālava. The different stages of the fight are described by the messenger. In the first stage two of Kumārapāla's vassals Vijaya ane Krshṇaka * prove treacherous and join the enemy (v. 98). The morale of the army is spoiled and the army of Kumārapāla recedes in the first stages. His General exhorts his soldiers : "Fie upon your Hastivarchas that was so much praised by my king!" (v. 106). The last stage of the fight is also described. Ballāla approaches the General 'breaking through

* We do not know who this Vijaya and Kṛshaṇaka were. Was this Krshaṇaka the same as Kumārapāla's brother-in-law of that name?

hundred rows of soldiers which were impregnable like ramparts of wood and stone and which could not be pierced through even by two days' efforts (v. 120)'. The General again exhorts his soldiers to fight for their life (v. 121–122). The soldiers, arranging themselves in the shape of 'two–boat,' attacked the enemy whose army was in the shape of a half–boat the other half being destroyed (v. 124). That hero of Avanti whose driver of elephant was killed, was thrown down from his elephant by a group of five kings in the presence of the 'Gurjara–Brahma General' (v. 126). Ballāla was, however, 'killed by some wicked Brāhmaṇas before the General could stop it through some great Brāhmaṇas' (v. 126).

The messenger was properly rewarded for the welcome news of victory.

Then the king went to his palace with his bride 'people looking at him from the shops of eatables.' Then the mother–in–law and the Purohita who had accompanied the bride returned to their place (133). Kumārapāla ruled well. (135–137).

In this description of the D. K., we get an account of two wars fought by Kumārapāla in the early part of his reign, that is before V. S. 1207–A. D. 1151. We learn that Vikramasimha was a vassal of Kumārapāla whom he invited to be his guest for some time at Ābu. Now, from an inscription of V. S. 1202 * = A. D. 1146 of Ajārigama, we learn that in that year Yaṣodhavala was reigning in Ābu; so Vikramsimha must have died by that time. From this we can infer that Kumārapāla must have been compelled to march against Ānna in

* See Pt. Oza's Raj. Itihasa pp. 175–76.

V. S. 1201 in the third year of his reign. We cannot say exactly when the final battle was fought. It is likely that this war must have lasted for a number of years, and Kumārapāla must have got his decisive victory somewhere about V. S. 1207, or a little earlier; for we learn from this inscription of V. S. 1207 that he encamped his army in the village of Ṣalipura and went personally to Chitrakūṭa. We also learn from it that his General Sajjana accompanied him to Chitrakūṭa.

The other war – that with Mālava – also must have been finally won by this time – that is V. S. 1207. In the Vadanagara praṣasti of V. S. 1208, the king cf Mālava is represented as killed.

We learn from the praṣasti of V. S. 1287–A. D. 1231, in the temple of Tejahapāla that Yaṣodhavala seeing that Ballāla, ruler of Mālava was opposing Kumārapāla, immediately killed him (Prcahina Jaina Lekhasangraha by Muni Jinavijayaji p. 79). This shows that in the fight with Ballāla, Yaṣodhavala was Kumārapāla's ally and must have actually gone to fight with him. He might have been one of those five kings who threw Ballāla down from his elephant. The name of this Ballāla, however, is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions of Mālava *. This means that he was some subordinate chieftain, and this rising against Kumārapāla was possibly the act of some of these chieftains of Mālava. This inference is corroborated by the D. K. where Ballāla is called Gonardiya (XVI v. 17) which according to the commentator means that Ballala was a native of Gonarda, a town

* Pt. Oza's Raj. Itihasa p. 176.

in Avanti (that is Mālava). His co-conspirators are mentioned in the twentysecond verse.

We have an inscription of this Mahāmaṇḍaleṣvara Yaṣodhavala dated 1207 at Abu.

Of the year V. S. 1208–A. D. 1152 we have the famous praṣasti – inscription of Vaḍanagara which we have been utilizing as an important source of Gujarata history. This prasasti consists of thirty verses and a line in prose giving the date and the name of the engraver. The praṣasti begins with Om Namah Ṣivāya. The first verse praises the 'Ichchhāṣakti' or 'Will of God'. Verses 2–3 describe the mythical origin of Chālukya dynasty. From 4 to 14, the kings of this dynasty from Mūlarāja to Jayasimha are described. Verses 15 to 19 are devoted to Kumārapāla. The wounding of Arṇorāja is described in terms similar to those of the D. K.

In verse 15, Kumārapāla is described as making the goddess Chaṇḍi intoxicated with the blood of the king Arṇorāja who was wounded in chest by his arrows, reside in his arm, and, as satisfying the greed of the goddess for lotuses by hanging a lotus in the form of the head of the lord of Mālava. The same thing is repeated in verse 17.

Verses 20 – 24 describe the Nagara or Vadanagara and verses 25 – 30 describe the building of a fortifying wall round the city. The building–operations of the wall must have begun earlier as it was complete in V. S. 1208.

In verse 30, we learn that the author of this praṣasti was 'the king of poets–Ṣrīpāla who could compose a great work in a day and who was accepted as a brother by Ṣrī Siddharāja.' This is the same

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Ṣrīpāla as wrote the praṣasti of the Sahasralinga Lake of Jayasimha. The inscription was engraved by Nāgara Brāhmaṇa Pandita Vālaṇa on Thursday the second of the bright half of the month of Āṣvina of the year V. S. 1208.

This inscription indicates that by V. S. 1208 -A. D. 1152 Kumārapāla was firmly established. In it he is represented as one who got his kingdom through the favour of Someṣvara, one whose work of killing the enemies was accomplished by goddesses, and so one whose army was just a thing of play (v. 18).

Like Aṣoka, Kumārapāla, after the bloody wars of the early part of his reign, appears to have turned his mind to non - violence towards animals. For, we find, in the D. K. that Hemachandra, after narrating his wars with Ānna and Ballāla, his marriage with Jalhaṇā and the safety and security in his kingdom (XX v. 1 - 2), describes Kumārapāla's efforts in spreading the doctrine of non - violence towards animals. A poor villager on an auspicious day was driving some goats to a slaughter house. Kumārapāla accosted him and was very much affected by what he heard from him (v. 10 - 20). He proclaimed " Amāri " or non - killing of animals (v. 22 - 23). Thenceforth sacrifice of animals for religious purposes was stopped (v. 20). " Out of consideration for Kumārapāla's words sages like Dakshiṇa Bhārgava sacrificed barley in their dīrgha - satras (or great sacrifices) " (v. 30). Hunting was also stopped (31 - 34). +

+ That this was the result of Hemachandra's teachings, we learn from H's own words in the praṣasti of the Tripurusha-Ṣalākāpurushacharita.

The influence of this promulgation of Amāri was felt even in states subordinate to Kumārapāla. We have an inscription of Mahārāja Alhaṇadeva of Kirata or Kiraḍu in Māravāda dated 1209-A. D. 1153 - Māgha vadi 14 Saturday, granting 'Abhaya' that is safety to animals on the Ṣīvarātri and on the eigth, eleventh and the fourteenth days of every half of the month in three cities. Anybody breaking the order of Amāri - or non - killing - was liable to a fine of five drammas. This proclamation is countersigned by Ṣrī Kalhaṇa son of Alhaṇa. It was written by the Mahārājaputra Sāndhi-vigrahika Ṭhakkura Kheläditya. This 'grant of safety' was caused by Pūtiga and Sāliga son of Ṣubhamkara living in Ṣrī Nadralapura, and of Prāgvāṭa family. The inscription was inscribed by one Gajaila.

A similar inscription of Ṣrī Pūnapāksha bearing no date but of the time of Kumārapāla has also been found at Ratanpura in the Jodhapur State, giving the grant of Abhaya and promulgating Amārī at the instance of the same two gentlemen Pūtiga and Ṣāliga. (Prachina Jaina Lekha Samgrapha pp. 201 - 203).

Thus we find that these two inscriptions corroborate the account of the D. K. We learn from the inscription of Āhalaṇadeva that Ṣrī Mahādeva was the prime minister in V. S. 1209-A. D. 1153. +

* Another inscription of V. S. 1209 but of the month of the second Jyeshtha has als been found. An inscription of V. S. 1210-A. D. 1154 has been discovered at Bhātunda in Jodhapur state of the Mahā-prachaṇda-daṇḍa-nāyaka Ṣrī Vaijāka of Nadūla who is mentioned as a vassal of Kumārapāla.

A copper plate-grant of V. S. 1212-A. D. 1156 of Kumārapāla has been recently discovered. It contains the whole genéology

The D. K. devotes fifty-two verses to describing another great boon that Kumārapāla granted to his subjects. It was a recognised custom. The property of a child-less man passed on to the state after his death. We find mention made of the custom in the Ṣākuntala of Kālidasa in which Dushyanta, himself being child-less, out of sympathy, asks his ministers to make proper inquiry and find out if any one of the wives of the rich man who died child-less, was carrying (Act. VI). The D. K. narrates at great length a pathetic episode of a widow of a rich man whose only son died and who herself was on the point of committing suicide. Kumārapāla who, of a mid-night, heard her wailing, went to her and consoled her and promised her to stop the cruel custom. The Moharāja-parājaya gives a different story referring to the annuling of this custom of appropriating the property of a man who died child-less. It appears that both the stories are probably imaginary, meant to give a poetic effect to this great deed of liberality which was in itself a historical fact. In fact Kumārapāla was said to have done that which no other king had done. The story of the D. K. which is interesting from many other points of view, however, is more credible than that of the Moharāja-parājaya.

Kumārapāla orders his ministers not to take 'mṛta-vitta' that is the property of a dead man

from Mūlarāja to Kumārapāla. It grants one dramma daily for the worship of Ṣrī Lakhaṇeṣvaradeva in the Jagatī (compound) of Ṣrī Tripurushadeva in Nāḍula. It has been written by Ṣrī Mahādeva son of Mahākshapaṭalika Ṣrī Lakshmaṇa of Gauḍa Kāyastha family. The Dūtaka is Mahāsāndhivigrahika Thakkura Ṣrī Delaṇa. It is signed as 'Ṣri Kumārapāla - devasya.'

(84-2-6) and for this he receives the praises of his grateful people (89).

The last 12 verses of the twentieth canto of the Samskṛta D. K. describe the raising of temples by Kumārapāla. 'When the king was informed by his emissaries that the mansion (temple) of Kedāra was in a delapidated condition he called Khasa a robber etc.' (90). We saw previously that Jayasimha by punishing the roguish kings had made the way to Kedara safe (XV 14). It appears that the same trouble again rose in the time of Kumārapāla. *

After abusing Khasa, Kumārpāla blames himself 'for living in a good house and letting the god to live in a broken place.' He calls 'his minister Vāgbhaṭa and orders him to send artisans, money, labourers and supervisors so that the whole temple may immediately shine like moon and become fragrant.' "For as you are devoted to me, I am devoted to Lord Ṣambhu" (v. 91-92). Kumārapāla even blames his

* It is not clear which Kedāra is intended in this context. Is it the famous Kedāreṣvara in the Himālayas or a place of similar name somewhere near Somanātha? According to the B. G. it was 'the temple of Kedāreṣvara in Kumaon' (p. 190). But the Khasia Kolis are to be found in Saurashtra also, and it is rather too far for the king of Gujarat to control the Khaṣas of Kumaon in the Himalayas and repair the temple of Kedāra there. Kumārapāla asks his minister Vāghbhat to repair the temples of Somanatha and Kedāresvara simultaneously. This would be possible if both the temples were near each other. I must confess however, that there is nothing impossible in Kumārapāla, repairing the temple of Kedāreṣvara in Himalayas for after he had defeated Ānna of Sapādalaksha, as we shall see further his power extended as far as the Kumaon mountains.

minister for his negligence in allowing the temple to delapidate (63).

The minister Vāgbhṭa then reminds the king of Someṣvara, and Kumārapāla orders that, that temple be also rebuilt. (94) The minister, under orders from the king, calls his men and instructs them to build the temples of Kedāra and Someṣvara (65). The artisans go there (96) and we are informed that the 'artists built that pair of temples' (97).

Then we are told that Kumārapāla receiving blessings from Ārhatas built a temple with gold and jewels containing an image of Pārṣvanātha made of sphaṭika stone. This temple, according to the commentary, was built in Aṇahillapura (98). Another temple of Pārṣvanātha was built in Ṣrī Devapattana (99).

When these temples were built travellers everywhere were talking like this : Have you, my good friend ! heard of the city of Someṣvara ? Have you been there ? Have you gone, good man ! to the wide city of Gurjaras ? Have you seen the beautiful temple known as Kumāra-Vihāra ? (100). +

At the desire of Ṣambhu to stay in Aṇahillapura expressed in a dream, Kumārapāla built a temple to that god known as Kumārapāleṣvara (101). The sages bless and praise Kumārapāla and ask him to inaugurate an era after his name as he had freed the earth from debts (102).

\+ सोमेट्पुरी३मश्कलय३ः सुमता३इ आप ३ः
साधा३उ गूर्जरपुरे अगम३ः पृथा३उ ।
तत्र३ अभू३वरकुमारविहारचैत्य–
दृष्टया३इ दिक्षिवति तद्याजनि पान्थवार्ता ॥ स. २०, श्लो. १००,

From an inscription-discovered in the temple of Bhadra Kali at Prabhas Pattana dated Valabhi Samvat 850, month of Āshādha (V. S. 1225 = A. D. 1169) which is an eulogy of Bhāva Bṛhaspati who was made a gaṇda or officer – in – charge of Somanātha, we get some useful information about the rebuilding of the temple of Somanātha. The first thing that we are able to infer is that the whole work was over before V. S. 1225–A. D. 1169, five years prior to Kumārapāla's death. Another thing that we learn is that it was at the suggestion of Bhāva Bṛhaspati that Kumārapāla ordered the re-building of the temple. It may be that Bhāva might have approached the king through Vāgbhaṭa who might have drawn the attention of Kumārapāla upon the necessity of re-building the temple simultaneously with the rebuilding of Kedāreṣvara. We may put this event between V. S. 1220–1225–A. D. 1164-1169.

The last great political event of Kumārapāla's reign was his war with Mallikārjuna of Konkaṇa of Ṣilāhāra dynasty.× This event is not narrated in the Samskṛta Dvyāṣraya but it forms the subject-matter of the sixth canto of the Prākṛta Dvyāṣraya.

The whole of the P. D. K. is devoted to the life of Kumārapāla and is entitled Kumārapālacharita. The preceding five cantos describe the city of Aṇahillapura and the daily life of Kumārapāla and also the seasons.

× See the B. G. Vol. I p. 185-186. "Of this Mallikārjuna two stone-inscriptions have been found one at Chiplun dated A. D. 1156 (Saka 1078) the other at Bassein dated A. D. 1160 (Saka 1082). p. 86.

In the sixth canto, after the description of the moon-rise (vs. 1–21) comes the description of the holding of the Royal assembly with Kumārapāla seated on a golden throne (22–39). Sāndhivigrahika or the Minister for peace and war reports to the king his success in war with Mallikārjuna of Konkaṇa. The choice army of the lord of Konkaṇa is referred to. His valour, which would make one forget the valour of the famous fiftytwo heroes, is mentioned. The march of Kumārapāla's soldiers to Konkaṇa is described. The enemy riding his elephant comes out of his city whose name is given as Ṭhāṇa (v. 49) which must be the modern Thāṇā near Bombay. He made his way into the Gurjara army and a terrific fight followed. The enemy's elephant was pierced by the arrows of Gurjaras. So also the rider – the lord of Konkaṇa. "His lotus-like head was cut off by your soldiers" (vs. 41–70).

The Minister of War and Peace continues his narrative thus : "You have earned the royal power of Kunkaṇa consisting of seven departments. Thus enjoying the south, you are joined to the Ṣrī of Ṣrīnagara, Tilanga and Kānchī (vs. 71–72). *

Then the reports of the exploits of Kumārapāla's army in other parts of the country are given (vs. 73–95). Last comes the vijnapti or request of the lord of Jāngala. (vs, 96–101) From this we learn that Kumārapāla had crushed Turuka, the lord of Dhilli (Delhi) and the king of Kasi (v. 96). The

* पहु, सिरि–नयर–सिरीए जुज्जसि, जुप्पसि तिलङ्गलच्छीए।
जुञ्जसि कञ्चि–सिरीए, भुञ्जन्तो दाहिणिं इण्हिं ॥ (७२. स. ६.)

reporting goes on till mid-night when the assembly disperses (v. 107).

The P. C. throws more light on this episode. We learn from it that it was Āmbaḍa (a son of Udayana) who first offered himself to fight Mallikārjuna of Konkaṇa. He was made the General of the army and despatched with other Sāmantas or chiefs. Somaprabhasūri, a contemporary, corroborates this information of the P. C. He says Kumārapāla used to win victories even with Vaṇija generals of the army like Āmbaḍa. ×

Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhaṭa marched to Konkaṇa whithout any break and came to the banks of the river Kalaviṇī which was in high floods. As he was crossing the river and a part of the army was encamping on the other bank, Mallikārjuna attacked the invading army and put it to flight. Āmbaḍa returned feeling disgraced; but he was again encourged to fight Mallikārjuna with a new army and other Sāmantas. The same river was crossed by the ford made in the first expedition and when the " unequal " fight began Āmbaḍa ' carefully made Mallikārjuna his aim ' and approached him. He mounted Mallikārjuna's elephant and threw him down, and when other Sāmantas or chiefs were engaged in looting the city he cut off the head of Mallikārjuna and wrapped it in gold and worshipped the ' feet of the king Kumārapāla with this lotus in the form of the head of the enemy '.

× अधुना तन्नमस्कारं स्मरतो मम शत्रवः ।
वणिजैरपि जीयन्ते दण्डेशैरम्बडादिभिः ॥ (p. 471. K. Pra.)

The booty that Āmbaḍa had won is also described by the P. C. (pp. 80 - 81).

We find in the inscription of Tejahpāla dated V. S. 1287-A. D. 1231 previously referred to that when the Paramāra king Dhārāvarsha of Abu (V. S. 1220-76) 'marched to the battle-field, the queens of the lord of Konkaṇa began to weep' (J. P. J. S. II Part II, p. 79). This means that he must have been one of the chiefs who went to fight as an ally of Kumārapāla against Mallikārjuna of Ṣilhāra dynasty. From another source, we learn that the Chauhana king Someṣvara was also with Kumārapāla's army fighting in Konkaṇa+

The final battle must have been fought before A. D. 1162 which is the earliest known date of Mallikārjuna's successor Aparāditya. *

This success extended the Gurjara empire as far as Kānchi in the south - the original home of Aṇahillapura Chālukya's, if the copper - plate of Chāmuṇḍarāja recently discovered may be interpreted to suggest such a connection. In the north, the king of Delhi - Viṣaldeva Vigraharāja Chauhāna - was his vassal. This, we learn from an inscription of this king dated V. S. 1220-A. D. 1164. In the east Mālava and Mevāḍa were in his possession; and if the Prākṛta Dvyāṣraya of Hemachandra is to be believed, the sway of Kumārapāla extended as far as Gauḍa. In the west, his power extended as far as Sindh. If this inference is correct, Kumārapāla in the last years of his reign, at least, must have been almost an All-India - Emperor. However that might be, the Gurjara

+ Pt. Oza's Rajputaneka Itihasa.

* See B. G. Vol I, pp. 185-186.

Empire was of considerable extent in all directions and it reached its widest extent in Kumārapāla's time. ×

According to the Ṣrīmālapurāṇa a Vaiṣya named Sunanda who was native of Paṭṭanāpura i. e. Aṇahilvāḍa-pattana requested the Ṣrī to reside in Aṇahillapura and so the goddess took leave of Bhīnnamāla and proceeded to Pāṭan in V. S. 1203, Vaisakha suda 3–A. D. 1147.

× There is a minor inscription of V. S. 1228–A. D. 1172 discovered at Bhaḍalai in Mārawada which simply refers to the regining king as "Srī Kumārapāladeva" without any title whatsoever.

The majority of the inscriptions pertaining to Kumāra-pāla's reign discovered up till now are those of his Sāmantas or vassals. They give us an idea of the extent of his way. Thus we gather from the inscription of V. S. 1202–A. D. 1196 discovered at Mangarol that the king Mūluka of Gohila family (capable of governing Saurāshṭra) was Kumārapāla's vassal; so also from that of V. S. 1205–A. D. 1149 and that of V. S. 1218–A. D. 1162 discovered at Kiradu in the Jodhapur state that SomeṢvara of Paramāra family was his vassal, from that of V. S. 1207–A. D. 1151 discovered at Abu that YaṢodhavala of Paramara family was his vassal; from a copper-plate of V. S. 1218–A. D. 1162 that Kīrtipāla of Chauhana family was also his Sāmanta; from the Ṣivālika inscription of V. S. 1220–A. D. 1164 that ViṢaldeva Vigraharāja of Delhi was his Sāmanta; from that of V. S. 1220–A. D. 1164 of Udayapura in Mevāda that Vasantapāla of Stharovaka (?) family was his vassal; from that of V. S. 1220–A. D. 1164 discovered at Abu and from that of V. S. 1223–A. D. 1167, we learn that Dhārāvarsha of Parmara family and Kelhandeva of Chauhana family were also his vassals. Some of these vassal-chiefs were related to Kumārapāla through marriage, as for example, Ānna of Sapadālaksha or Someṣvara the father of the famous Pṛthvirāja Chauhāṇa.

This might be interpreted to mean that the glory of the Gurjaras reached its Zenith in Aṇahillapura in the *reign of* Kumārapāla and that many influencial and rich families must have finally left Bhīnnamāla for Patan. (Adhyaya 75.)

We have some reliable information about the principal political personages of Kumārapāla's reign. The P. C. tells us that after Kumārapāla occupied the throne, he made Āliga and Udayana, the elder statesmen of Jayasimha's reign – who must have become very old by this time, his principal advisors (Jyāyān Pradhāna), and that Ṣrī Vāgbhaṭa popularly known as Bāhaḍa, a son of Udayana, his great minister (Mahāmātya). The D. K. also, as we saw, mentions Vāgbhaṭa as Kumārapāla's minister who was entrusted with the work of building temples of Kedāreṣvara and Someṣvara. From the accounts of the Prabandhas also, it appears that this Vāgbhaṭa was a person of great influence and power in the reign of Kumārapāla.

Udayaṇa who was popularly known as Minister Udā was one of the remarkable men of the age. He was intimately connected with the life of Hemachandra. Short accounts of his life are given in the P. P. S. and the P. C. He is also mentioned in the Pra. Cha. as well as in the Prabandhakoṣa and the V. T. K. The account in the P – ms of the P. P. S. is more complete than those of others.

According to it Udayaṇa belonged to the Ṣrīmāla community and was originally an inhabitant of a village named Vāghara near Jāvālipura (or Jalore) in Māravāda. His geneology is as follows : Ṣreshṭhi Bohittha – Aṣveṣvara – Yakshanāga – Vīradeva – Udayaṇa. His wife's

name was Suhādevi who was a daughter of Thakkura Sāmba of Dhavalakakka (modern Dholka). He was doing business in ghee. He appears to have been an intrepid fellow from the early part of his life as he used to go out for his business even at mid-night with his bow and quiver of arrows. Once while going about like this he got a good omen and went with his wife and two sons Bāhaḍa and Chāhaḍa to Āṣāpalli which was then recently renamed Karṇāvatī.

Arriving there Udayaṇa first went to worship in a Jaina temple, which according to the P. C. was known as Vāyaṭiya – jināyatana (Jaina temple of Vāyatas or Vāyaḍās). As he was coming out of the temple, he met the wife of Ṣālāpati Tihuṇasīha (that is Sālavi or Master-weaver Tribhuvanasimha) who with her servants was going into the temple. The P. C. gives her name as Lachhī (Lakshmī) a Ṣrāvikā of the Chhimpikā community. +

Uḍayana was taken by her to her house where he was treated as a guest by her husband. Tihuṇasīha asked him whether he would stay in his house or independently. Udā resquested that he would like to live independently and was given a small piece of land by Tihuṇasīha near his house.

As he was erecting the door, he discovered a hidden treasure. King Karṇa, who was at that time in his new city, called Tihuṇasīha and asked him to hand over the newly discovered wealth. Tihuṇasīha answered: 'Your Majesty! a certain Māruka (Māravāḍi) has come to me. In his house something is discovered. I

* That is Chhipā community–the same as Salavi community–whose hereditary profession was weaving, colouring and printing of cloth. The P. C. 56.

do not know what it is." Udā was sent for; but when Karṇa saw that Udā was a lucky man he was given the seal of ministership and the title of Rāṇimā.

This is how the early rise of Udayana is described by the P. P. S. and also by the P. C. with a few variations (The P. P. S. p. 32., The P. C. p. 56).

The P. P. S. in the beginning of its account tells us that Udayana was made the Governor of Lāṭa and given ministerial seals by the king. The name of the king is not mentioned. He must have been given that post by either Karṇa or more probably by Siddharāja Jayasimha.

When Udayana was staying at Khambhāta (Cambay) probably as a governor of Laṭa – Province he performed the Dikshā – festival of Hemachandra. We have referred to the incident of his meeting Kumārapāla at Cambay when the latter was running about for his life. We have also mentioned, on the authority of the Pra. Cha, his fight against Khengāra of Junagadha. According to the P. P. S. it was Udayana who slayed Khengāra (p. 34).

We saw that Udayana was appointed as an elderly counsellor with Āliga, while his son Vāgbhaṭa was made the Prime Minister (The P. C. p. 79).

His wife Suhādevi died when Udayana was considerably old. A typical incident is narrated by the P. P. S. with reference to Udayana's re-marriage at the age of seventy. Vāgbhaṭa saw that his father was feeling unhappy. So he thought of remarrying him. He found out a grown up girl (lit. an old daughter वृद्धा सुता) who was a daughter of a merchant in Vāyaḍapura. Under the pretext of a pilgrimage Udayana

was taken there. A dinner party was arranged, but the Sangha (community) refused to sit to dinner as it was pre-arranged by Vāgbhaṭa. Udayana asked the reason thereof and he was told unless he obeyed the word of the community which was that he should remarry – they would not sit to dine.

Udayana said "I am seventy years old. This is not the time to marry. Untimely doings do not look well." Vāgabhaṭa interposed "The authority of the community is very powerful." Udayana said "Who will give his daughter?" – meaning of course to an old man like himself. The whole thing, was, however pre-arranged and Udayana was married to the daughter of a merchant of Vāyaḍāpura. She was the mother of Rāyaviddara Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhaṭa the killer of kings. This Āmrabhaṭa is the same as is referred to by Somaprabhasūri-a contemporary of Kumārapāla – as the Vaṇija General of Kumārapāla's army and who, according to the P. C., slayed Mallikārjuna of Konkaṇa.

According to the P. P. S. Udayana was mortally wounded in his fight against Sāngaṇa Dodiāka at Melagapura after Udayaṇa had defeated and killed Khengāra (p. 32 & p. 34 *). The last two desires of this dying general were to rebuild two temples – one on the Satrunjaya Hill and the other at Broach known as Ṣakunikāvihāra. The first desire was fulfilled by Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhaṭa. The final ceremony of flag-hoisting on the temple at Ṣatrunjaya took place,

* This account supplements the account of the Pra. cha. p. 322. The P. C. gives the name as Saṇnsara of Surāshṭra p. 86.

according to the P. C. in V. S. 1211–A. D. 1155, at the hands of Vāgbhaṭa (p. 87).

From the Kiraḍu inscription of V. S. 1209–A. D. 1153, we learn that Śrī Mahādeva was the prime minister at Aṇahillapura at that time. This Mahādeva must be the same as was appointed the Governor of Mālava by Jayasimha. It is likely that Ujjayinī and Dhārā must have been in his charge when Ballāla of Gonarda rose in rebellion, and that after Ballāla was slain in battle, General Kakka might have been appointed the Governor of Mālava. Mahādeva, on retiring from Mālava, must have been given the position of prime minister which was occupied by his father Dādāka. We do not know how Kakka and Mahādeva were related. We know from Hemachandra that Kakka was a Brāhmaṇa. Probably he was a Nāgara of Vadanagara. Mahādeva, we know, definitely, was a Nāgara of Vadanagara. It was customary to give the position of a father to his son in those days. In all likelihood, Kakka was a son of Mahādeva. But this is only a guess.

From the inscription of V. S. 1220–A. D. 1164 we learn that at that time Jaṣodhavala or Yaṣodhavala was the prime-minister at Aṇahillapura. From the inscription of V. S.–1225 A. D. 1169, it appears that Yaṣodhavala or Dhavala was probably a Brāhmaṇa of Ānandapura, that is a Nāgara of Vadanagara. There he is referred to in the past tense, so it appears either he had ceased to occupy that position or that he was not alive at the time. The wife of this minister built two temples, probably near Junāgadha.

We may, here, mention Kapardin the treasurer of Kumārapāla. According to the P. C., it was at his

suggestion that Kumārapāla, even at the age of fifty learnt Samskṛta grammar and three poems and thus earned the title of Vichāra-Chaturmukha (p. 89). Kapardin himself, it appears, was a learned man and a friend of Hemachandra (p. 90). When Vāgbhaṭa was attending to the building of the temple at Ṣatrunjaya near which he founded a town named after him Bāhaḍapura, he gave the charge of his post to this Kapardin. (p. 87). Kapardin was one of those persons who accompanied Kumārapāla in his pilgrimage to Ṣatrunjaya. He is called Bhāṇḍāgārika Kapardin by the P. P. S. (p. 43).

In the Prabandhakoṣa of Rājaṣekhara this Bhāṇḍāgārika Kapardin is also called a leader amongst poets and donors (कवीनां दातॄणां च धुर्यो भाण्डागारिकः कपर्दी ॥ p. 48).

Kapardin was given the post of prime-ministership by Ajayapāla-the successor of Kumārapāla. Even though warned by a Māruka who knew the significance of omens, he accepted the post. He was later on arrested and killed by Ajayapāla in his palace. (The P. C. p. 96).

About Kumārapāla's generals of the army, we have also some information. The D. K., as we have seen, mentions the Gurjara - Brahma - Senānī - whom the commentator Abhayatilakagṇi identifies with Kakka. He crushed the rebellion of Ballāla.

From the Chitodagaḍha inscription of V. S. 1207-A. D. 1151, we infer that the "Daṇḍanāyaka Sajjana" was with Kumārapāla in his expedition against Ānāka, and we learn that he was one of those few people who accompanied the king to Chitoḍagadha leaving the rest of the army in the village of Ṣālipura. This Sajjana is probably the same as was appointed the governor

of Saurāshṭra by Jayasimha and as built the temple on Girnara. If he is the same person he must have been very old at the time of Kumārapāla's expedition; because, as we saw on the authority of the V. T. K., he completed the temple on the Girnar mountain in V. S. 1185–A. D. 1129 (p. 9). This Sajjana of the Ṣrīmāla community belonged to the family of Jāmba who was a Mahāmātya of Vanarāja. According to the P. P. S. he had two more brothers named Āmba and Dhavala. +

From the inscriptions of V. S. 1210–A. D. 1154, and V. S. 1213–A. D. 1157 we learn that Ṣrī Vaijāka or Vaijalladeva was the Mahāprachaṇḍa Daṇḍanāyaka (that is the great terrible general) of Kumārapāla. In the reign of Ajayapāla, we learn from a copper-plate of V. S. 1231–A. D. 1175 that he was a governor of Narmadā–Taṭa that is of Lāṭa Deṣa.

From the P. C., we learn that Āmbaḍa – son of Udayana and according to the P. P. S. a step – brother of Vāgbhaṭa (p. 32) was also one of the generals of Kumārapāla. He was, as we saw, responsible for the conquest of Konkaṇa and slaying of Mallikārjuna.

+In addition to this Sajjana the General of Jayasimha and Kumārapāla, prabandhas mention three more Sajjanas. One is Sajjana Sākariyāka of Jayasimha's time. (P. P. S. p. 36). Another is Sajjana the potter who saved the life of Kumārapāla by hiding him in a koṭhi. He was rewarded with Chitrākūta when Kumārapāla became king. The Daṇḍanāyaka Sajjana of Kumārapāla who accompanied him to Chītod is identified by some with this potter Sajjana (P. P. S. p. 38). There is another Sajjana of the time of Bhima II who was also a general and an orthodox Jaina of the Ṣrimāla community. (P. P. S. p. 49).

The P. P. S. quotes an apabhramṣa dohā composed and recited on the occasion by a Chāraṇa * which definitely makes Āmbaḍa responsible for killing Mallikārjuna. According to the Pṛthvirājavijaya of Jayānaka, however, it was Someṣvara, the father of Pṛthvirāja Chauhāṇa who killed Mallikārjuna.

We may here mention the names of his ministers who belonged to the family of Vimala.

The apabhramṣa praṣasti of the Nemināthachariu continues its narrative up to the reign of Kumārapāla. We learnt from it that Dhavala – the son of Neḍha was a minister of Karṇa; he continued to occupy that position in the reign of Jayasimha also. Through the boon of the goddess Dhaṇuhāvi, (that is – his family deity – Vindhyavāsinī who, as we saw, was given that name because she resided in the bow of his ancestor Lahara–) he built a temple known as Revantaprāsāda.

This Dhavala had a son named Ānanda. Ānanda's wife Paumāvaī or Padmāvatī by name was very religious. He also occupied the position of his father in the reigns of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla. He had a son named Puhaipāla or Pṛthvīpāla who also occupied ministerial posts. Pṛthvipāla built the beautiful maṇḍapa in the temple at Abu built by his ancestor Vimala. He built several other temples. It was in his temple at Aṇahillapura that Haribhadrasūri completed his Nemināthachariu.

Thus this praṣasti gives us the history of an illustrious family of the Prāgvāṭas who played such

* अंब [ड] हुंतु वाणीउ मल्लिकार्जुन हूंत राउ ।
पाछी माथउं वाढिउं उअडिहिं देविणु पाउ ॥

an important part in the history of Gujarat, from the time of Vanarāja to Kumārapāla.

In this connection, the name of Vasāha Ābhaḍa may be mentioned. He was not directly connected with the state in any way. He must have, however, been a very influential person of the times, as we shall see anon he was one of those who was consulted by Kumārapāla about the succession to the throne after him. From a very poor condition he rose to be one of the richest men of Aṇahillapura. He maintained his high position throughout the reigns of Kumārapāla, Ajayapāla and Bhima II.

We learn from the P. P. S. that of the sons of Ābhaḍa two were Māheṣvarins, that is, worshippers of Maheṣvara or Ṣiva and three were Ṣrāvakas, that is Jainas. (p. 33).

According to the Prabandharatnakoṣa of Rājaṣe-kharasūri he had a daughter named Chāmpalade, who had become a widow early in life, and who used to manage his household affairs being very learned and tactful (p. 100). It was this Ābhaḍa who saved the temple of Tārangā from being destroyed by the orders of Ajayapāla.

Now we come to the Purohitas of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla. We saw that Āmaṣarman was the Purohita of Karṇa. It was through his miraculous powers that the evil effect of the magic of the Purohita of the king of Mālava was warded off. The Surathotsava informs us that it was through his blessings that Siddharāja could conquer the king of Sindhu, the king of Mālava and the king of Sapādalaksha. Kumāra performed many sacrifices and built many lakes.

This Kumāra had a son named Sarvadeva. He was proficient in the Smṛti of Manu. He was a devotee of Vishṇu. We are not informed whether he was Jayasimha's Purohita after the death of Sarvadeva. Probably he was.

Sarvadeva had a son named Āmiga. He was the Purohita of Kumārapāla. Whether he was the same as is described to be an opponent of Hemachandra by the P. C., we do not know. It was he who carried the ashes of the body of the king Kumārapāla to Prayāga.

Kumārapāla had no direct male heir to succeed him. As usual, the rival claimants to the throne must have made the crowned head very uneasy. We learn from the Prabandhakoṣa just referred to, that once when Kumārapāla and Hemachandra had grown old, a consultation was held at night between Kumārapāla, Hemachandra and Ābhaḍa–probably in the residence of Hemachandra–as to who should succeed the king. "The king asks, 'Your worship! I have no son, whom should I put on the throne?' His Holiness answered 'Make Pratāpamalla–son of your daughter–king. He will maintain Dharma. Ajayapāla will undo the Dharma you have established.' Here Ābhaḍa intervenes 'Your worship! Whatever sort,–one of the family only proves useful!' Again Ṣrī Hema said 'Under no circumstances make Ajayapāla king.' After this consultation the three rose to go." (P. K. p. 98).

We learn from the same authority that there was a feud in the group of disciple-monks of Hemachandra. On one side were Rāmachandra, Guṇachandra and others; on the other side was Bālachandra. This Bālachandra was a friend of Ajaypāla – the nephew of the king. He

overheard the consultation about the succession to the throne and informed Ajayapāla of it. This made Ajayapāla a sworn enemy of Rāmachandra and his party, but a friend of Ābhaḍa, who, as we saw, later on used his influence in saving the Jaina shrine at Tārangā.

According to the same authority, Kumārapāla died of poison administered by Ajayapāla thirty-two days after the death of Hemachandra. This event must have taken place in V. S. 1230 according to the year beginning with Kārtika or Chaitra but V. S. 1229 according to the one beginning with Ashāḍha. In the Udayapura inscription dated V. S. 1229, Vaiskakha Sudi 3 Monday, we find Ajayapāla mentioned as the reigning sovereign. This means that Kumārapāla must have died, according to the Kārtikādi year, in the early part of the year V. S. 1230-A. D. 1174. This correctly removes the discrepancy between the P. C. and the Udayapura inscription.

Thus we see that the seeds of the disruption of Gujarat power were already sown in the last days of Kumārapāla's life. The disintegration of the Gujarat empire soon followed. For a time like the dying flicker of a lamp, the glory of Gujarat shone bright again in the time of Vīradhavala Vaghelā and his great ministers Vastupāla and Tejapāla, to be extinguished for ever in the reign of Karṇa II. Gujarat continued to flourish and grow rich and build temples even after this, but its political self-respect was gone! The causes of this disintegration and downfall must have been many and various, but they must not be sought in the differences of the religious creeds of the people.

In fact, the harmony, no doubt with human lapses here and there, between different creeds was phenomenal, so much so as to appear incredible to one who is only familiar with the history of Christianity and Islam! The main cause of the disruption seems to be that the kings believed and their ministers and religious priests encouraged them to believe that the state was the personal property of the king and that it was treated as such. Add to this a certain lack of political self-respect which allowed the people to live and multiply and prosper rather than die and become annihilated if not allowed to live as free men. This, howerver, was only one, though in my opinion, the primary cause; there being many other contributary causes.

16

What was the city of Aṇahillapurapāṭaka like, this Gurjaradeṣarājadhāni-capital of Gurjaradeṣa-of which its people – poets, kings and even retired monks-were so proud ? Vāgbhaṭa-poet and critic and a contemporary of Jayasimha – called it one of the three jewels of the world-the other two being the king Jayasimha Siddharāja himself and his elephant Ṣrī Kalaṣa. (See f. n. p. CXCVI). In the time of J. it had become a point of honour-to be settled either by martial or literary passage of arms-to maintain three kings : that Gujarat was like Bṛhaspati – the teacher of gods – in the matter of discrimination, that Pattana – (literally city) that is Aṇahillapura was a veritable ocean of men and that the king was the emperor of Siddhas. *

* गूर्जरत्रायां विवेकबृहस्पतित्वं नृपस्य सिद्धचक्रित्वं पत्तनस्य च नरसमुद्रत्व-मसहन् (°सहमानः) विवदते pp. 28-29 P. P. S.

So here I may pause for a while to put before the student some of the material which will help his historical imagination draw, at least in outline, the picture of this city from which, so to say, radiated the glory of the Gurjara Empire.

We are fortunate in possessing some very good contemporary descriptions of the city. The student will find that the two descriptions of Aṇahillapura from the pen of Hemachandra himself in his two Dvyāśrayas –Saṃskṛta and Prākṛta-are, in spite of poetic egaggerations and embellishments, sufficiently realistic to guide his historical imagination. The Prākṛta description in the Ku. Pra. of Somaprabha – a junior contemporary of Kumārapāla is also interesting. The inscription of the General Keśava of Dadhipadra District gives in one verse a characteristic description of Aṇahillapura. Of later descriptions the one in the Kīrttikaumudī of Someśvara – the friend of Vastupāla–is very fine and gives us an idea of the city as it must have impressed the poet in the last days of its glory.

As to the history of the place, up till now it was held by scholars that it began with the founding of Aṇahillapura by Vanarāja in V. S. 802 – A. D. 746. But the V. T. K. of Jinaprabha edited and published by Muni Jinavijaya gives a tradition which enables us to trace its history three - hundred years prior to Vanarāja. From it, + it becomes clear that

+ Jinaprabhasūri in the twenty–sixth Kalpa of his V.T.K. while narrating an early tradition about the building of the temple of Arishṭanemi in Anahillapura incidentally gives some interesting details about the earlier history of the place before the time of Vanarāja. He also enumerates the names of the kings who ruled in the city from Vanarāja to Allauadīna

the temple of Arishṭanemi, the history of which he is narrating, existed in the time of Jinaprabhasūri and that a festival in memory of the flag-hoisting day was held on the fullmoon day of every Mārgaṣīrsha. According to the tradition learnt by Jinaprabhasūri the flag-hoisting ceremony first took place in the year

Khilji. The tradition, that he narrates, he learnt, as he himself says, from 'the mouth of antiquarians' (मुखात् पुराविदां श्रुत्वा). I translate it below as it appears to contain some historical facts.

"Formerly there was a very rich merchant named Jakkha in the city of Siri Kaṇṇa-ujja (Kanouj). He, once upon a time, with a caravan of bullocks, taking merchandize with him, in order to trade, started for Gujjaradeṣa which was a part of Kaṇṇa-ujja* and given as dowry to Mahaṇigā-the daughter of the lord of Kaṇṇauajja. In due course he encamped in Lakkhārāma on the bank of the river Sarassaī (Sarasvatī). **Indeed it was formerly the place where Aṇahillavāḍaya was founded.** Encamping his caravan, as the merchant was residing (lit sitting) there, monsoon approached. The clouds began to pour down. Once upon a time in the month of Bhaddvāya (Bhādrapada) that caravan of bullocks suddenly disappeared. Nobody knew where it had gone; a search was made but in vain. Then in a dream came Bhagavai Ambādevī to him whose heart was aching with anxiety on account of this almost total loss of property. She spoke "Dear boy! are you asleep or awake?" Jakkha said "Oh Mother! how is sleep possible to me whose caravan of bullocks-whole property-is lost?" The goddess spoke "Good man! In this Lakkhārāma there is a triad of idols under a tree of Ambiliyā. Get three men to excavate it. One idol is that of Siri Ariṭṭhaṇemi, another that of Siri Pāsaṇāha and the third that of Ambiyādevī." Jakkha asked "Bhagavai! There are many Ambiliya trees; how am I to recognise that particular region?" The goddess answered

* For the explanation of this anachronism of the tradition see p. CVIII.

V. S. 502 = A. D. 446. At that time the place was known as Lakkhārāma. Jinaprabha is not clear on the point whether this ceremony took place in the life-time of Jakkha the original builder of the temple. From the fact that it is the people who request Jasobhadda

" Where you see a circle of red metallic ochre (धाउमय) and a collection of flowers, know that as the place of the triad of idols. When that triad of idols will be discovered and worshipped, your bullocks will return of their own accord.

" In the morning after getting up and first performing (his usual) worship, he did according (to the behests of the goddess) and the three idols were discovered. They were worshipped with proper ceremony. Within a moment the bullocks returned in an unimaginable way. The merchant was pleased. In due course he raised a temple, (lit a palace) and the idols were installed.

"Once upon a time when the monsoon was over Siri Jasobhadda Sūri–the ornament of Bambhaṇa gaccha while going to the city of Khambhāitta (Cambay) from Aggahāragāma which was adorned with 1800 paṭṭasāliyagharas (residences for Jaina monks) happened to pass by that place. The people requested "Your holiness ! you cannot go further transgressing this holy place." Then the Sūri bowed to the idols, and performed the flag-hoisting ceremony with festivities on the fullmoon day of Maggasira (S. Mārgaśīrsha). Even today every year the flag-hoisting ceremony is performed on the same day. That flag-hoisting festival took place when fivehundred and two years (502) had elapsed after Vikkamāiccha (S. Vikramāditya).

" Then in the Vikrama year eight-hundred and two (802) the king Vaṇarāya the pearl of Chāukkaḍa family (वंस) **founded Pattaṇa on the site of Lakkhārāma** in the region approved by Aṇahilla Govāla. (अणहिल्लगोवालपरिक्खिए पएसे)." V. T. K. p. 51.

After this the author gives the geneologies of the king who ruled over Pātaṇa up to Allaudīn. "There were there seven kings of Chāukkaḍa dynasty viz. Vaṇarāya, Jogarāya, Khemarāya, Bhuaḍa, Vayarasīha, Rayaṇāiccha, and Sāmantasīha.

and not Jakkha we might infer that at the time Jakkha was not living. But it can be argued against this view that usually it is thc samgba that invites the Āchāryas. Any how if the ceremony took place after the life-time of Jakkha we will have to put the building of the temple earlier, how much earlier we have no means to guess.

However that might be, we have here a tradition informing us of the existence of a human habitation known as Lakkhārāma–probably a town of mercantile importance, full threehundred years before the founding of the city which took place, according to this account as also that of the P. C., in the year V. S. 802–A. D. 746.

Whether the story of Jakkha the merchant of Kānyakubja is historical or not, the existence of Lakkhārāma prior to the founding of Aṇahillapāṭaka along its site as also the existence of the temple of Arishṭanemi in Lakkhārāma seem to be historical. If we study the history of the capital cities of India, we will discover, in many cases, that they are not founded in altogether wild places. The places where the capital cities were founded, had, generally speaking prior to

Then in the very same city there were eleven kings of Chālukka dynasty viz. Mūlarāya, Chāmuṇḍarāya, Vallabharāya, Dullaharāya, Bhīmadeva, Kaṇṇa, Jayasīmhadeva, Kumārapāladeva, Ajayadeva, Bāla-Mūlarāya and Bhīmadeva. Then in the family of Vāghelās were born the kings Lūṇappasāya, Vīradhavala, Vīsaladeva, Ajjuṇadeva, Sūrangadeva, and Kaṇṇadeva. After that the rule of Surattāṇas Allāvadiṇa etc. prevailed in Gujjaradharitti. That lord Ariṭṭhaṇemī whose door-keeper is the goddess Kohaṇḍī is even to day worshipped in the same way." p. 51.

their being capitals, some importance–either mercantile or military. We may quote the instance of Ahmedabad or we may refer to the earlier history of Pāṭaliputra. So in the case of Aṇahillapura, this tradition about the existence of Lakkhārāma points to the same thing.+

The inscription of the Vāhinīpati Keṣava who was made a Daṇḍa – nāyaka at Dadhipadra or Dohada of V. S. 1196 – A. D. 1140 contains the earliest dated description of Aṇahillapāṭaka as far as I have been able to discover. It is as follows:—

'अणहिल्लपाटकनगरं सुरमन्दिररुद्धतरणिहयमार्गम् ।
यस्यास्ति राजधानी राज्ञोऽयोध्येव रामस्य ॥ ३ ॥

The city of Aṇahillapāṭaka in which the path–way of the horses of the sun is obstructed by the temples of gods is the capital of the king just as Ayodhyā was the capital of Rāma.' This description of the city, though short, is, quite characteristic of the place. In the V. S. 1196 – A. D. 1140 in the reign of Jayasimha Siddharāja Aṇahillapāṭaka must have been veritably a city of temples. We have referred, on the authority of the P. C. at their proper places, to the monuments built here by several kings. These temples of gods, as we can gather from the Kumāravihāraśataka of Rāmachandra a pupil of Hemachandra were not only places of devotion, but of artistic culture also.

The lay–out of this city of temples, was, probably, in the shape of a Swastika – as it appears from

+This name Lakkhārāma whose Samskṛta form would be Laksharāma has a Buddhist ring about it. Buddhism must have been flourishing in the early part of the fifth century A. D. or even earlier in Gujarat. The description of Yuang Chang indicates that Buddhism in Molapo or Gujarat was not a new thing in his time, but something that was coming down from ages.

the very first verse + of its description by Hemachandra. It was surrounded by a fortifying wall which, as we learnt from the P. C., was first built by Bhūyaḍa. This Śāla, vapra or koṭṭa (all synonyms for city–wall) seems to have impressed the imagination of the poets very much; for as one approached the city the innumerable śikharas or domes of the temples and this wall with its turrets and gopuras must have caught the eye first and tickled the imagination. Hemachandra, in his Prākṛta Dvyāśraya, while describing the city, describes first the prākāra (the city – wall) as the looking-glass of the heavenly damsels referring to its high towers of sphaṭika – stone. *

In the Saṃskṛta Dvyāśraya he describes the city-wall thus : 'Here everywhere shines the Śāla (city-wall), like the Lord of serpents (Śeshanāga – the cosmic serpant white in colour), in height like the Lord of mountains (Meru), looking down upon the enemies, with its white heads bearing banners that lick the heavens' (C. I. V. 127). Somaprabha, in the Ku. Pra., also, first describes the city–wall and compares it to a pearl–necklace. (p. 3).

Someśvara, in his K. K., also gives a similar simile and imagines it to be a hedge of good deeds to guard the city against Kali (C. I. v. 49). ×

+ अस्ति स्वस्तिकवद् भूमेर्धर्मागारं नयास्पदम् ।
पुरं श्रिया सदाश्लिष्टं नाम्नाणहिल्लपाटकम् ॥ स. १. श्लो. ४.

* तिअसवईहरवहुमुहआदरिसीहूयफलिहसिलसिहरो ।
जस्सिं पुहइवहूमुहअवयंसो सहइ पायारो ॥ स. १. श्लो. ३.

× See also Hemachandra's T. S. P. C. Parvan 10, canto XII, vv. 39 etc., the Vasantavilāsa of Bālachandra (p. 9 v. 40–44) and Hamira–mada–mardana of Jayasimhasūri p. 47 v. 23.

As we saw while referring to the Sahasralinga Lake, surrounding Aṇahillapura were great forests which lent a sylvan magnificence to the approaches of the city. Someṣvara describes the surrounding thus "Where near by is a circle of forests full of innumerable trees which looks like the shadow of the high city-wall."+

There was also a moat round the city-wall which is compared to Sea protecting his daughter Lakshmī in the city.

Aonther attractive feature of the city must have been the holy river Sarasvatī. It appears that the river Sarasvatī must not have been so dry then as it is now near Aṇahillapura. × This virgin river lent a sacred charm to the surroundings of the city. There is a whole Purāṇa called Sarasvatī Purāṇa dedicated to this river which is very useful for the history of Aṇahillapura. * The Sahasralinga Lake had its watersupply from this river whose waters, through channels, were first gathered and controlled in a well known as Rudra-kūpa (S. P. C. 16. vs 1 - 2.). Hemachandra describes it thus:

+ अनेकानोकहच्छन्ना प्रत्यासन्ना वनावलिः ।
यत्रोन्नतस्य वप्रस्यऽछायेव प्रतिभासते ॥ स. १. श्लो. ५०.

× Hemachandra, no doubt, exaggerates when he says that the 'waters of the river were fordable by boats (नाव्यजला), but it appears that the description might hold good for monsoon and even winter. A study of the physical features of rivers of Gujarata indicates that there has been a progressive scarcity of water in them. Descriptions of Sābaramati, given by foreign travellers, also, suggest such an increasing scarcity of water in that river also.

* In the opinion of Mr. Kanaiyalal B. Dave who has carefully studied this Purāṇa it was written in the reign of Jayasimha Siddharāja.

" Here is the Brāhmī river purifying Heaven and Earth, cutting off all sins and bearing the marine fire; the story of whose account is worth listening to, and whose waters are sweet to cattle and fordable by boats." " People going by bullocks and people going by boats do not care for their bullocks and boats being engrossed in the sweet songs of women guarding the rice - fields (in the river) - songs worth hearing ! " ''In the fortnight sacred to the manes (श्राद्धपक्ष in the Ṣarad=Autmn) the ladies standing, look, from the gavāksha, (the windows, naturally, of the mansions on the bank of the river) at the land covered with grass pleasing to cattle and at the river (Sarasvatī) pleasing to the gavāksha " (C. I. vs. 23-25).

Hemachandra gives the following picture of the out-skirts of the city. " Its out-skirts (बहिर्भुव:) are resorted to by coy-boys and camel - boys, having shoulders as muscular as those of bulls, standing on the backs of the animals - outskirts covered with vegetation palatable to cows and camels." (v. 26).

But the glory of Aṇahillapura was its Royal Lake. We have already referred to it (p. p. CLXXXIX-CLPC) and we cannot go into its detailed description here. Poets of successive generations have sung of its beauty and magnificence. Suffice it to say that it was a monument which brought forth and revealed the best that was in the princes and the people of Gurjaradeṣa; that it was a place of worship, learning, and out-door recreation for the rich as well as the poor; that it afforded an opportunity to the best engineering skill in the construction of the lake, the Rudra - kūpa, and the feeding channels and to the best artistic talents of the

architects and the sculptors; that, in short, it was a proper symbol of the munificence and the love of magnificence of Gurjaratrā!

To the temples as a characteristic feature of the city, we have already referred. The mansions of the city are also described by Hemachandra and a typical residence of a rich man is described by Yaṣahpāla in his Moharājaparājaya (Act III pp. 53–58). In the S. D. K. Hemachandra describes the gardens and the beauties who visited them thus: "Here in gardens lovely with all seasonal flowers shine damsels whose eyebrows are curved like the letter ऌ", etc. (v. 11). The third canto of the P. D. K. is devoted to the description of Kumārapāla's garden.

The great extent of the city, H. describes figuratively thus: "Oh people! the knee of Mārutī (Hanumān) which did not ache while wandering in Lankā would ache if he desired to go from end to end here! (v. 32). +

About the learned men of the city we shall speak in the next section. Here we may refer to the general literary culture of its men and women. We have already referred to the colleges built around Sahasralinga. Hemachandra tells us 'A tongue – tied student

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+ In the Moharājaparājaya, Kubera describes Aṇahillapura from his aerial car to his wife Pātālachandrikā. The first thing that attracts his attention is the row of flags on the temple known as Kumāravihāra. Next he points to the river Sarasvatī and then to the Lake of Ṣri Siddharāja. Bakasthala and the pillar of victory are mentioned; the matchless palace of the king and the row of mansions in the market-place are admired. He concludes by saying 'In this glorious city what is not worth seeing?" p. 67. See also the Vasantavilāsa canto II.

studying in the Vidyāmaṭha of this city would become a fine orator!' * 'A man who does not know how to utter a syllable would, here, in a moment, become learned in the six schools of philosophy' (v. 39). Speaking about the Brahmins of the city, H. says 'They used to perform their six karmans, were of pure speech, and famous in all directions for their mastery of various departments of learning' (v. 108). In verse 122 he describes how teaching was done. Hemachandra does not forget to mention the sweet speech, the beautiful voice, and the proficiency in fine arts of the women of Aṇahillapura (v.v. 35, 106, 111, etc.).

The happy family life of the citizens (v.v. 104, 132 etc.), their liberality in giving gifts (114 etc.), their hospitality (v. 63 etc.), their bravery and adventurous spirit (v.v. 17, 54, 113 etc.) and the beauty of their women are also described by Hemachandra.

Coming to the religious life of the people, we find that all sects found place in Aṇahillapura and all the schools of philosophy were studied in the city. H. says it was a city which 'gave place to ninety-six sects and in it all the āṣramas lived joyfully; (that is people in Brahmacharyāṣrama, Gṛhastha°, Vānprastha° and Samnyāsa° lived happily in the city)'.+ The city

* The commentator explains the word Vidyāmaṭha thus: 'A type of residence, equipped with materials of feeding, clothing etc. for teachers and students made by kings.' This shows that the State not only supplied schools but boarding houses for students and teachers. That again indicates how education was endowed by the State in Gujarat. C. I v. 7.

+ Somaprabha says there was no envy between the different Dhārmikas – sectarians जहिंस समच्छरमणा जलासया न उण धम्मियसमूहा p. 4.

had representatives of Karmakanda as well as Brahmavadins (v. 82 etc.). The six gods – Brahmā, Vishṇu, Ṣiva, Sūrya, Soma and Kārtikeya were established in the city by its kings (v. 46), that is there were royal temples dedicated to these gods in Aṇahillapura. The sound of conches in the city's temples is said to over–power Kali (88). We are also told how a Jaina sees in Ārhaṭa, Ṣiva, Vishṇu and Brahmā (v. 79); and how the sixteenth Tīrthankara Ṣānti is remembered by his devotees (v. 129).

Though, thus, almost all the religious sects were represented in Aṇahillapura, Ṣaivism, Jainism, and to a certain extent Vaishṇavism seem to have occupied the place of honour.

The morality of the people as revealed by the synthesis of different Purushārthas–Human Purposes–is described in several verses (8, 20, 21, 45, 92, 130, 133 etc). In fact, H. in the very first verse of the description of the city calls Aṇahillapāṭaka–' An Abode of Dharma' (धर्मागार).

To Hemachandra, people of Aṇahillapura appeared "First in bravery, first in ṣāstra (science, learning), first in self – control, first in meditation, first in truth, first in six schools of philosophy, and first in six angas of Vedas'. ×

17

When describing the reign of the Bhima I, we had occasion to refer to the intellectual life of Aṇahillapura-

× प्राङ् शौर्यवृत्तौ प्राङ् शास्त्रे प्राङ् शमे प्राङ् समाधिषु ।
प्राङ् सत्ये प्राङ् षड्दर्शन्यां प्राङ् षडङ्ग्यामितो जनः ॥ सः ९६५ ॥

pattana. We saw how the keen rivalry between Gujarat and Mālava, and their rulers Bhīma and the famous literary king Bhoja was not only political but keenly intellectual also. We also saw how the poets and dialecticians from different parts of India used to visit this capital of Gurajara-deṣa where their literary and dialectical talents were put to test.

Tarka, Sāhitya and Lakshaṇa – Logic and the Art of Dialectics, Literature and Poetics, Grammar and the Philosophy of Language–were the subjects affected by the cultured citizens of Aṇahillapura and proficiency in these subjects was a pass-port to the royal courts and the assemblies of the learned. The chaityas and the Maṭhas of different sects, in fact, were the academies and the colleges where these subjects were discussed and taught. We referred to the great dialectician Ṣantisūri who had thirtytwo students studying under him Pramaṇa-ṣāstra which included the Buddhist logic whose 'categories were difficult to grasp.'* This atmosphere of learning, of public debates, and of literary criticism as also of literary compositions was a significant feature of the times which became more and more marked with the spread of political power of Aṇahillapura. We saw that when Jayasimha built his famous lake, he also built Maṭhas – something like residential colleges –

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* From the following passage of the M. K. C. we learn that the works of Kaṇāda, Akshapāda, Uddyotakara, Vāchaspati and Udayana were being studied in Gujerat. Incidentally it also shows Vādī Devasūri's mastery of the works of these authors.

महर्षिः—देव ! अद्य श्री देवसूरेः प्रामाणिकमनोहारिणीं वाणीमाकर्ण्य विशीर्णः कणादाक्षपादभणितौ पक्षपातः, उद्विग्नमुद्योतकरोक्त्यावन्तःकरणं, अरुचिगोचरतामचरद् वाचस्पतिमतिः, दग्धमिवाबभात्युदयनवैदग्ध्यम् । (p. 49).

provided with almost all the then known branches of learning, round about the precincts. As we saw, the descriptions of the city by the D. K. and other contemporary and later works point to a high state of literary development. It was in this intellectual milieu that Hemachandra, the greatest intellectual of the age lived and did his work. He must have received immense benefit and impetus from such an environment, but he must have also found it very difficult to shine out amongst such a galaxy of learned men. This, probably, explains his tremendous literary output–encyclopaedic in its scope and accurate in detail.

When Hemachandra came on the scene many learned men of different religious persuasions had played or were playing their parts. We shall note some of these – as it will help us in forming an idea of the intellectual company which Hemachandra joined.

Some of the learned men of the times of Karṇa and even Bhima I, it appears, were living in the early part of Jayasimha's reign, though for want of chronological information, we cannot exactly name them.

We mentioned the two learned Brāhmaṇas of Madhya – deṣa, Ṣrīdhara and Ṣrīpati known after their conversion to Jaina faith, as Jineṣvara and Buddhisāgara who were responsible, through the good offices of Someṣvara the Purohita and Jnānadeva the great Saiva Pontiff, in getting a footing in Anahillapura for the Suvihita monks of the Ṣvetāmbara Jaina sect in teeth of opposition from the powerful and influential Chaitya-vāsins. We referred to the Samskṛta grammar composed by Buddhisāgara and known after him. Jineṣvara wrote

a work on Pramāṇaṣāstra.+ We also referred to the dialectical powers of Ṣantisūri, bearing the titles of Kavīndra and Vādichakravartin received from Bhīma, and that of Vādivetāla from Bhoja. He held controversies with the Kaula poet and dialectician Dharma of Bhṛgukachha who in his turn showed his mastery of that dialectical work the Tattvopaplava, and also with a Dravidian logician. We also saw that Ṣāntisurī had in addition to his thirtytwo students, one more student – more brilliant than his thirtytwo named Muni Chandra of the Suvihita type. This Muni Chandra became a master – logician who trained the famous Vādi Devasūri–the author of the Pramāṇanaya-tattvālokālaṃkāra and its commentary the Syādvāda-ratnākara–, and who defeated the famous Digambara dialectician Kumudachandra in an open debate held under the chairmanship of Jayasimha himself in his court. We shall refer to this incident later on.

We also referred to Abhayadeva known as Navāngī – ṭīkākāra. The visit of the Kāṣhmiri poet Bilhaṇa to Aṇahillapura, though of a short duration, is very significant. It is suggestive of the literary contact between Gujarāt and Kāshmīra, and must have something to do with the ambition of Hemachandra to propitiate the Goddess of Learning who resided in Kāshmira (काश्मीरवासिनीं देवीम्).

+ The following interesting information is given by Jineṣvara at the end of his Pramāṇalakshṇa (Purātattva Vol. IV, pp. 83 – 84) :—

शब्दलक्ष्म प्रमालक्ष्म यदेतेषां न विद्यते ।
नादिमन्तस्ततो ह्येते परलक्ष्मोपजीविनः ॥
श्रीबुद्धिसागराचार्यैर्वृत्तैर्व्याकरणं कृतं ।
अस्माभिस्तु प्रमालक्ष्म वृद्धिमायातु साम्प्रतम् ॥

According to the Pr. Ch., Govinda sūri who was the teacher of Sūrācharya was living in the reign of Jayasimha also. If it were so, it must be in the early part of Jayasimha's reign and even then he must have been very old indeed. This Govindasūri is referred to as the teacher of Vīrācharya who was a friend of Jayasimha. It is more likely, however, that some other teacher, who must have been a student of Govindāchārya and therefore in the line known after the famous teacher, is referred to.

In the course of a friendly conversation, narrates the Pr. Ch., Jayasimha told Vīrācharya that the greatness of the learned men depended upon the royal recognition. Vīrāchārya's self-respect was wounded and so he wanted to leave the city of Aṇahillapura. Jayasimha tried to stop him from going, but according to the Pra. Ch., he flew away to Pāli in Marwad using his Yogic powers. Jayasimha repented and requested him to return which he did after an extensive tour in different parts of India, in course of which he defeated several dialecticians – especially Buddhists in Mahābodhapura. He was highly honoured by the king of Gwalior also.

A dialectician of the Sāmkhya school named Vādi Simha – this looks more like a title than a proper name – visited Aṇahillapura and challenged the learned men of the city to meet him in public debate. Jayasimha, who was very jealous of the honour of his kingdom in matters of learning, approached Govindāchārya who sent his pupil Vīrācharya to fight him. We do not know whether this debate took place before Vīrācharya left Aṇahillapura or after he

returned; because the order in narrating events adopted by the Pr. Cha. is not always chronological.

It is more likely that Vīrācharya might have met the Sāmkhya dialectician before he left Aṇahillapura; in fact the power of debate that Vīrāchārya showed, might have been the cause of his intimacy with Jayasimha.

Vīrāchārya also defeated in debate one Kamalakīrti a Digambara dialectician. The Pr. Cha. gives no dates about him (pp. 272 - 277).

Deva Sūri or Vādi Deva Sūri - Devasuri the Dialectician as he became known - was one of the great masters of Logic and Dialectics whose activities were spread in the reigns of Siddharaja Jayasimha and Kumārapāla. He belonged, as we saw, to that school of great logicians of Muni Chadra sūri and his teacher Sāntīsūri, who himself, as we saw, was a student of Abhayadevasūri – the author of that great philosophical work known as Tattavabodhavidhāyiṇī or more significantly Vāda Mahārṇava – the Ocean of Dialectics – in the form of a commentary on the Sanmatitarka of Siddhasena Divākara. * The praises bestowed on Devasūri by contemporary learned men like Devabodha of the Bhāgavata sect and Hemachandra himself and the dramatist Yaṣaschandra as well as later logicians like Yaṣovijaya, are, we find, not unfounded when we study Devasuri's Pramāṇa - naya - tattvāloka and his Syādvādaratnākara. In his own days, especially, in the early part of his career,

* This work has been edited by Pandit Sukhlal and Pandit Bechardas and published in five volumes by the Gujarat Puratattva Mandir, Ahmedabad.

he became famous as a great debater who silenced several dialecticians especially the great Digambara dialectician Kumudachandra. This defeat of Kumudachandra was a sort of land-mark in the history of Ṣvetāmbara Jainas. As a verse attributed to Hemachandra says there would have been no Ṣvetāmbaras in Gujarat if Devasūri had not defeated Kumudachandra who had, according to the conditions of the debate, to leave this province. This incident, as we saw, forms the subject-matter of the play of Yaṣaṣchandra known as the "Mudritakumudachandra or Kumudachandra Silenced".

This play is a sort of contemporary account which gives many interesting details about the intellectual life in the reign of Siddharāja Jayasimha. The Pra. Cha. in its chapter on Vādi Devasūri mainly draws upon this work and supplements its information from other sources. From these two works, we get accurate information about the main events of Devasūri's life.

From the Pra. Cha. we learn that Devasūri was born in the year V. S. 1143 A. D. 1087 (p. 295. v. 286), that his father's name was Vīranāga who belonged to the Prāgvāṭa family, that his mother's name was Jinadevī, that originally they were of Maddāhṛta in the district of Ashṭādaṣaṣatī (modern Madhar in Palanpur State) and that the wordly name of Devasūri was Pūrṇachandra. The family preceptor was the famous Muni Chandrasūri. On account of an epidemic, Vīrangāga had to leave his native place and migrate to Bhṛgukachha in Lāṭa, where it appears he had to live in poor circumstances. In his ninth year (V. S. 1152-A. D. 1096) Purṇachandra was ordained monk by Muni Chandra

sūri (pp. 279 and 295) and was first given the name of Rāmachandra. Rāmachandra soon mastered ' Tarka, Lakshaṇa and Sāhitya, became a touch-stone in the current schools of philosophy - his own and those of others :

तर्कलक्षणसाहित्यविद्यापारगतः स च ।
अभूत् स्वपरसिद्धान्ते वर्तमाने कषोपलः ॥ ३८ ॥' (p. 280).

Then Rāmachandra began his career as a dialectician. In Dholaka he defeated a dialectician named Bandha of the Ṣivādvaita school (v. 39 p. 280 Pr. ch.). According to the M. K. C., however, it was Munichandrasūri – Devasūri's guru – who defeated the Saiva dialectician who is described there as surpassing both Bṛhaspati and Ṣukrāchārya (p. 17 v. 10). It may be that Devasūri might have taken prominent part in helping his guru in the debate with this powerful Saivādvaita dialectician.

The Pra. Cha., then, refers to Devasūri's meeting Kāṣmirasāgara in Satyapura (or Sachor in Marwada), Guṇachandra the Digambara in Nāgapura (or Nagor in Marawada), Ṣivabhūta [°ti] of the Bhāgavata school in Chitrakūṭa (or Chitod), Gangādhara in Gopagiri (or Gwalior), Dharaṇidhara in Dhārā, Padmākara in Pushakariṇī and Kṛshṇa – the leader of Brāhmaṇas– in Bhṛgukshetra (p. 210 vs. 39 – 41). How much of this statement is historical – we cannot say, as we have no other corroborative evidence. But the defeat of Guṇachandra the Digambara is corroborated by the M. K. C. (pp. 16 & 25). According to the play, this debate was held in the court of Arṇorāja of Sapādalaksha whose protègé the play-wright Yaṣaschandra was. This event took place before his famous debate

with Kumudachandra and probably was responsible for Kumudachandra's challenge to Devasūri for a dialectical duel, though we have no definite information on the point.

The Pra. Cha. mentions six learned friends of Devasūri viz:- Vimalachandra, Harichandra, Somachandra, Pārṣvachandra, Ṣānti and Aṣokachandra (p. 280). There is corrobarative evidence to prove the historicity of these persons in several Jain works of Gujarat. The M. K. C. mentions one Aṣoka as a follower of Devasūri (p. 13). May not Somachandra be our Hemachandra who bore that name before he became an Āchārya ?

After Rāmachandra was thus qualified, he was made a Sūri or Āchārya. * This ceremony took place in the year V. S. 1174-A. D. 1118 that is when he was in his thirtyfirst year (p. 295). He was thenceforth called Devasūri.

Devasūri was first introduced to Jayasimha through the minister Ambāprasāda who appears to be himself a philosopher as he is referred to by Devasūri in his logical treatise. The occasion was, as usual, dialectical. One ' Devabodha of Ṣrī Bhāgavatadarṣana ' visited ' Srīmat Pattana ' and challenged the learned men of the city to explain a verse which he wrote down on a leaf and hung it at the royal gate. For six months it remained unexplained; then Ambāprasāda introduced Devasūri to the king. Devasūri explained the verse in the presence of the king, who, from that day, became his friend (p. 281 P. C.). Devabodha

* We cannot definitely say whether all these dialectical conquests of Devasūri were acheived before he became Āchārya.

also became a great admirer and friend of Devasūri. Acting on Devasūri's advice, a rich man named Bāhaḍa× built a temple in honour of the last Tirthankara – *Mahāvīra Vardhamāna.*

In the year V. S. 1171–A. D. 1115 Devasūri's guru Munichandrasūri died, most prabably in Anahillapura. Devasūri became the head of his group and school.

When Devasūri went to Nāgapura – Nagor – Devabodha happened to be there. Devabodha greatly praised Devasūri * before the king Āhlādana who consequently received him with great honour.

In the year V. S. 1181–A. D. 1125, the Kumudachandra debate took place. This formidable Digambara dialectician was, according to the Pra. Cha. a southerner and the guru of Jayakeṣin – king of Karṇāṭaka and the maternal grand father of Jayasimha Siddharāja. He had defeated several dialecticians whose marionettes he used to tie to his left foot as so many tokens of dialectical conquests. He is represented to be the very incarnation of pride (p. 283. P. C.). In the M. K. C., Kumudachandra himself narrates his own exploits. His opponents included Buddhists, Bhāṭṭa Mīmāmsakas, followers of Ṣankara, and Kāpilas that is Sāmkhyas. How much historical truth there is in this narration we cannot say. We know, however, that these schools of philosophy flourished in the south and that Digambara

× This Bāhaḍa was not the son of Udayana, nor the author of Vāgbhaṭālamkāra. This is some other person. Many Bāhaḍas are known.

* The praise of Devabodha is as follows:—

यो वादिनो द्विजिह्वान् साटोपं विषममानमुद्गिरतः ।
शमयति सदैवसूरिर्नरेन्द्रवन्द्यः कथं न स्यात् ॥

Pra. Cha. v. 76 p. 283).

Jainism was then rich in philosophers and dialectcians of a very high order, some of whose works have survived to this day.

It was in Āṣāpalli (– the older name of Karṇāvatī, and the modern Ahmedabad –) that the seeds of discord between Kumudachandra and Devasūri were sown. Both of them were staying for the monsoon in that city, This must be the monsoon of the year V. S. 1180–A. D. 1124. According to the M. K. C., Devasūri, at first, did not mind the vauntings of Kumudachandra and rather tried to practice the 'Ṣama' or 'control of anger' which was his religious duty to do. But his correligionists and disciples would not put up with the boastings of this naked dialectician when they had a man like Devasūri with them. So when an old nun was harrassed by Kumudachandra, Devasūri was roused to fight and so he sent word to the Jaina sangha of Aṇahillapura. Aṇahillapura welcomed his suggestion, and Devasūri sent an invitation to Kumudachandra to meet him in the court of Siddharāja Jayasimha which the latter readily accepted. It appears there were many machinations from both the sides to prejudice the issue. Devasūri, however, strictly forbade his party to try underhand means and even though, at first, he had some difficulty with the minister Gāngila, he got a fair hearing in the court of Jayasimha.

" Both the protagonist and antagonist were called to the debating hall " says the Pra. Cha., " on the full-moon-day of Vaiṣākha. V. S. 1181–A. D. 1125 (v. 193, p. 290). We are not told whether this was the first or the last day of the debate. The questions at issue were whether souls in feminine incarnation could

liberate themselves and so also whether monks who put on clothes. The Ṣvetāmbara dialectician maintained that women could liberate themselves, as liberation depended upon a person possessing 'sattva' and women were known to possess 'great sattva.' Instances were quoted from the Ṣāstras, of Sīta and others, and as contemporary evidence the name of the queen mother Mayaṇallā was mentioned, who, from the way in which she is referred, appears to be living at the time. This debate is merely referred to by the M. K. C. but described in detail by the Pra. Cha.. The debate lasted for sixteen days and at last Kumudachadra was silenced, who as a last resource tried to find a grammatical fault in the word Koṭākoṭī that Devasūri had used. The judges, however, held that the usage was quite according to Pāṇini. We are told that Devasūri used his knowledge of the commentary of Ṣāntisūri on the Uttarādhyayanasūtra bearing on this topic and defeated Kumudachandra who could not answer his arguments. (P. C. pp. 283–293 M. K. C. pp. 44 – 51).

In this connection the M. K. C. supplies us with very good information about the learned assembly of Jayasimha. + The king himself was the chairman whose decision was final. He was assited by four sabhyas (members of assembly) – in the words of Pratihāra– '**Maharshi** who was learned in Tarka, Bhārata and Parāṣara (Logic, Mahābhārata and the Smṛti of Pārāṣara.), **Utsāha** whose learning had become famous

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+ This informarion is further supplemented by the eighth and the last chapter of the P. N. T. L. of Devasūri which discusses the nature of Vāda, Vādin, Sabhya and Sabhāpati.

in Ṣaradādeṣa (i. e. Kasmir), **Sāgara** – the ocean of wonderful intelligence and **Rāma** learned in Logic and Dialectics. On the side of Devasūri were the 'poet laureate Ṣripāla and Bhābhū–a man of wonderful genius '. On the side of Kumudachandra were the ' three Keṣavas'. The general Ṣilānka and at first the minister Gāngila were, somehow, against, Devasūri.

Unfortunately we have no other information about these learned people. Utsāha, we know from the part he plays in the drama, was a grammarian. He must be the same man as was sent from Kashmir with the eight grammars for Hemachandra.

The learned assembly of Siddharāja is compared by Devasūri to the divine assembly of Indra known as Sudharmā Sabhā. The poet Ṣrīpāla says ' one can remain proud of his proficiency in Grammar, Poetry and Poetics, and Logic and Dialectics as long as one has not visited the Assembly of Jayasimha.' +

The Pra. Cha. quotes a verse attributed to Hemachandra which we have already referred to. It is, however, not explicit on the point whether Hemachandra was actually present in the assembly.

+" देवसूरिः—कश्चायं स्वसभया पराजितायां सुधर्मायां सुधास्पर्धानुबन्धो धराधीश्वरस्य। किं नालोक्यन्तेऽनेकचतुराननाः। किं न परिस्फुरन्ति गणनातिक्रान्ता गिरीशाः। किं न लक्षीक्रियन्ते पुण्डरीकाक्षाः। किं न जृम्भन्ते भूरिशो जिष्णवः। किं नोल्लसन्ति बहवो राजहंसाः। किं न विलसन्ति सहस्रशो भूतनयबुधाः। किं न प्रगल्भायन्ते मध्येसुधर्माभिकृतो मन्त्रिणः।

कविः [श्रीपालः]—भगवन् ईदृगेव गुर्जरेश्वरस्य सभा। तथा हि
तावद् व्याकरणप्रवीणभणितिः [तेः] प्रागल्भ्यमुज्जृम्भते
तावत् काव्यविचारभारधरणे धीरायते धुर्यता।
तावत् तर्ककथानुबन्धविषमे बद्धाभिलाषं मनो
यावन्नो जयसिंहदेवसदसि प्रेक्षावतामागमः ॥

According to the P. C., however, Hemachandra accompained Devasūri to the debate. Probably he was there either in the capacity of a junior counsel on the side of Devasūri or merely as a curious spectator of the show.

Jayasimha being greatly pleased with the success of Devasūri presented him with a big sum of money which, however, the latter being a Suvihita, did not accept. The money was spent in building a temple at the suggestion of the minister Āṣuka, in which the idol of the first Tirthamkara was istalled by four Sūris – Devasuri being presumably one of them – in the year V. S. 1183–A. D. 1127.

Devasūri's magnum opus was a treatise on logic known as Pramāṇanaya – tattvālokālamkāra and the commentary on it known as Syādvāda–ratnākara. He was helped in this work by two of his students Bhadreṣvara and Ratnaprabha. He wrote several other works and left a number of learned pupils – of which Māṇikya, Aṣoka, and Vijayasena are mentioned in the M. K. C. +

Vādi Devasūri died at the ripe old age of 83 years in the year V. S. 1226–A. D. 1170 in the reign of Kumārapāla.

We may, here, say something, about Devabodha and Ṣrīpāla, both of whom were great favourites of Siddharāja though their mutual relationship was anything but friendly. Probably they were jealous of each other for the royal favour.

+ See the Samskṛta introduction of Muni Himanṣuvijaya to P. N. T. L.

We learn from the autobiographic verse + of Ṣrīpāla in the Vadanagara praṣasti of Kumārapāla that he was famed for composing a great prabandha (literary composition) in a day, that he was accepted as a brother by Ṣrī Siddharāja and that he was called Kavichakravartin – king of poets. * This verse is quoted in the P. C. and other works whenever Ṣrīpāla is referred to. From the diction of this praṣasti whose author he was, we can say, that he must have been a poet of no inconsiderable merit. We have seen that he is one of the characters of the contemporary play M. K. C.. From that play, we also gather that he was a friend of Siddharāja from childhood, the very essence of good poetry and bearing the title of Kavirāja. We also learn from it that he was blind. × He is called Thakkura Ṣrīpāla by the Pratihara in the play. The verses put in his mouth in the play are really fine – and it may be that some of these may really be Ṣrīpāla's.

From an inscription on an image in the temple of Vimala on Mount Abu, we learn that the poet Ṣrīpāla belonged to the Prāgvāṭa family and that his

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+ एकाहनिष्पन्नमहाप्रबन्धः श्रीसिद्धराजप्रतिपन्नबन्धुः ।
श्रीपालनामा कविचक्रवर्ती प्रशस्तिमेतामकरोत् प्रशस्ताम् ॥

* अये कथं सिद्धभूपालबालमित्रं सूत्रं सुकवितायाः, कविराजबिरुदकमलनालं श्रीपालमालोकयामः ।

× कविः—पातुं नेत्राञ्जलिभिस्त्वद्रूपरसायनं विधिहतस्य ।
श्रीदेवसूरिसुगुरोर्नाभिरुरमस्ति मे भाग्यम् ॥

दे.—कवीश्वर! अप्रतिकार्योऽयं पुराकृतासकृतपरिपाकः, परं कृतैव भगवत्या भारत्या त्वयि त्रिलोकाकलनकौशलजुषः सारस्वतचक्षुषो वितरणेन करुणा ॥ (p. 39 the M. K. P.).

father's name was Ṣrī Lakshmaṇa. + In all likelihood the image represents the poet.

We find confirmation of these facts from the Kumārpāla-pratibodha of Somaprabhasūri which was finished in the year V.S. 1241-A. D. 1186 about 11 years after the death of Kumārapāla. It also tells us that Ṣrīpāla belonged to the Prāgvāṭa family and he was addressed as 'Kavīndra' and 'Brother' by Ṣrī Siddhapati. ×

The Pra. Cha. tells us that when Devabodha contemptuously asked as to who that blind fellow was, Jayasimha himself introduced the poet. From this work we learn also that Ṣrīpāla had written praṣastis for Rudra-Mahālaya and Durlabha Sarovara the same as Sahastralinga and a great Prabandha-composition-known as Vairochanaparājaya probably a play. The praṣastis must have been similar to the Vadanagar-praṣasti. Some verses of the lake praṣasti are quoted in the P. C. and, as we noted, a slab forming the part of the Kīrtīstambha of the lake bearing on it a fragment of the praṣasti has been discovered. Stray verses of Ṣrīpāla also have been found. * From such fragmentary poems, we cannot

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+ See Muni Jinvijaya's Introduction to the play Draupadi Svayamvara of Vijayapāla grand son of Ṣrīpāla pp. 7-22.

× प्राग्वाटान्वयसागरेन्दुरसमप्रज्ञः कृतज्ञः क्षमी
वाग्मी सूक्तिसुधानिधानमजनि श्रीपालनामा पुमान् ।
यं लोकोत्तरकाव्यरञ्जितमतिः साहित्यविद्यारतिः
श्रीसिद्धाधिपतिः 'कवीन्द्र' इति च भ्रातेति च व्याहरत् ॥

[कु. प्रति बोध (प्रशस्ति) पृ. ४७७.]

* See Jinavijaya's Introduction to Draupadī Swayamvara. A hymn called Srī Chaturvinṣatijinastavanam attributed to Srīpāla is published in the Jaina-stotra-samdoha. p. 121.

form any correct estimate of Ṣrīpāl's poetic abilities; we can, however, say from them that all his verses are marked by chaste and forceful diction.

For Devabodha of the Bhāgavata sect, our main source of information is again the Pra. Cha. The references to Devabodha in later prabandhas are more or less confused. The Pra. Cha. generally refers to him with great respect.

Devabodha who is called a 'Mahāvidvān,' 'a great savant' when he came to Aṇahillapura, in the begining, showed great indifference towards the king. He had, however, placed at the royal gate his enigmatic verse for the learned men of Aṇahillapura to explain. We saw that after six months, Devasūri solved the ENIGMA. This made Devabodha an admirer of Devasūri. But probably before the riddle was solved Devabodha did not care to go to the court of Jayasimha. After consulting Ṣrīpāla his poet laureate Jayasimha sent a messenger to request Devabodha to come to his court, which, however, the latter refused to do and asked the king to go to him if he wanted to see him. " I have seen rulers of Kānykubja and Kāṣi. What do I care for the ruler of Gurjars whose dominion is so small? If your ruler, however, wants to see me, let him come here, and sit on the ground while I shall be sitting on a lion-seat " (v. 191-193, p. 30ā-8). This was the reply of Devabodha. Jayasimha was impressed with the man's attitude and so went to see him with Ṣrīpāla. In this visit Devabodha referred to Ṣrīpāla in very contemptuous terms and even when Jayasimha personally informed him of his poet laureate's achievements Devabodha showed scant respect for the blind poet

with a verse of biting sarcasm. * This must have been the origin of antagonism between these two literators. Then followed what may be described as a poetic passage of arms between Devabodha and Ṣrīpāla.

Devabodha must have come to Aṇahillapura about V. S. 1178-A. D. 1122 when Devasuri returned from Arbuda mountain, knowing that his Guru Munichandrasūri would die within six months. He solved the riddle of Devabodha after his return from Abu.

Soon after in V. S. 1178, Munichandrsuri died. Before V. S. 1181, Devabodha and Devasūri again met at Nāgāpura or (Nagora) where before the king Āhlādana Devabodha praised Devasuri with a verse of āryā metre. It may be that Devabodha might have immediately returned to Aṇahillapura or more probably he might have visited Kāṣi and Kānya-Kubja before he again came to Gujarata. In that case the incident with Ṣripāla must refer to the second visit. We saw that after the defeat of Kumudachandra, a temple was built with the money which was to be presented to Devasūri. This temple was finished in V. S. 1183-A. D. 1127. On that occasion, the Pra. Cha. tells us, Devabodha was invited to take part in the festival by Devasūri with great joy because he was a worthy person × (pp. 309-310 vs. 222-224). Devabodha came and showed his great poetic gift by reciting a fine verse as Jayasimha came to the Jaina temple from the Saiva

* शुक्रः कवित्वमापन्नः एकाक्षिविकलोऽपि सन् ।
चक्षुर्द्वयविहीनस्य युक्ता ते कविराजता ॥ p. 308, v. 208.

× देवबोधोऽपि सत्पात्रं तत्राहूयत: हर्षतः ॥

temple. * He also showed his miraculous power by making a buffalo-driver who was fetching water from a lake and whose education consisted of two syllables 'Tha – ja,' compose and recite a poem as if he were a learned man, by simply putting his hand on the man's head.

Śrīpāla put a watch on Devabodha's activities and found out that he was not quite the ascetic he pretended to be. But he did not succeed in discrediting Devabodha in Jayasimha's eyes, and when Devabodha wanted to leave Jayasimha to his 'vulgar assembly,' (ईदृग्ग्राम्यनटग्रामे संयोगः सदृशोऽस्तु नः। २६८) it was with great difficulty that he was persuaded to stay. Within three years, however, Devabodha became vey poor.

Hemachandra had come to know of this quarrel. He, however, fully knew the worth of Devabodha. In Hemachandra's opinion, 'in these days, there is no learning except in this man' × Devabodha also fully knew the worth of Hemachandra and when he came for a visit, he paid to Hemachandra the compliment which he alone knew how to pay. + Hemachandra succeeded in making Śrīpāla and Devabodha friends; for as the Pra. Cha. says, 'it is the first duty of the ascetics to pacify quarrels.' ·|· At the suggestion of the poet-laureate

* एको रागिषु राजते प्रियतमादेहार्धहारी हरो
नीरागेषु जिनो विमुक्तललनासंगो न यस्मात्परः।
दुर्वारस्मरघस्मरोरगविषव्यासंगमूढो जनः
शेषः कामविडम्बितो न विषयान् भोक्तुं न मोक्तुं क्षमः॥

× दृश्यते नान्यसामान्यं संक्रामितगुणोत्तरम्।
सारस्वतं न कुत्रापि समयेऽस्मिन्नमुं विना॥ २८८ ॥

\+ पातु वो हेमगोपालः कम्बलं दण्डमुद्वहन्।
षड्दर्शनपशुग्रामं चारयन् जैनगोचरे॥

·|· आद्यो धर्मो व्रतस्थानां विरोधोपशमः खलु॥

Jayasimha gave a lac to Devabodha who settled his debts with the money. Then that Mahāmati, as the Pra. Cha. calls him, retired to the banks of the Ganges and passed his life in meditation.

In this context, we may also mention Bhāva Bṛhaspati whose life is described in the inscription in the Bhadrakāli temple at Prabhāsa Pattana dated Valabhi samvat 850 = V. S. 1230–A. D. 1174.

Bhāva Bṛhaspati was born in Vārāṇasi in Kānya-kubja district in a great Brāhmaṇa family. He made it the mission of his life to revive Ṣaivism of the Paṣupata school. For this purpose he left his native place and took to travelling. As the inscription says " For the purposes of pilgrimage, making kings devout, and protect religious places, this ocean of austerities went out" (v. 6). First he went to Dhārā where he made the Pramāra kings his disciples. Then he came to Jayasimha who looked upon him as his brother. Bhāva Bṛhaspati reminded Jayasimha of his (Jayasimha's) mission of life viz. to revive old places of Ṣiva worship. The king on the very day made him a Mahattara and an Āchārya. After Jayasimha's death, Kumārapāla made him a 'gaṇḍa' that is the officer in charge of Somanātha Pattaṇa and rebuilt the whole temple under Bṛhaspati's supervision. The rest of the inscription describes how Gaṇḍa Bhāva Bṛhaspati revived the glory of Somanātha by building temples, wells, etc..

Two other literary men of Jayasimha's time should also be mentioned. One is Paṇḍita Vardhamānasūri–the author of the Gaṇaratnamahodadhi which was finished in the year V. S. 1197–A. D. 1141. He calls himself a pupil of Ṣri Govindasūri who probably is the same

as we have referred to; – the teacher of many worthy pupils. This Gaṇaratnamahodadhi is a work on grammar unique in its subject matter.

The other is the author of Vāgbhaṭālamkāra a work on poetics. This Vāgbhaṭa is often confused with the minister Vāgbhaṭa. But the two are different. The minister Vāgbhaṭa was a son of Udayana while our author is a son of Soma as he himself says in a verse in this work. He was also a Jaina.

This work seems to have been finished between the conquest of Mālava and Jayasimha's death, for, it refers to the conquest of Mālava and has no verse in praise of Kumārapāla. It must have, therefore, been composed between V. S. 1192 and V. S. 1199–A. D. 1136–1143. Thus it was composed at the time when Hemachandra might have been composing his Anuṣāsanas. The Kāvyānuṣāsana refers to Vāgbhaṭa.

Another contemporary who also wrote upon Poetics may be mentioned. His name is Maṇikyachandra Āchārya, the second commentator on the Kāvyaprakāṣa of Mammaṭa and the first commentator outside Kāṣmira. His commentary is known by the name of Saṃketa. It is one of the best commentaries, written in excellent style, on the K. P. * The commentary was finished in the year V. S. 1216-A.D.1160 month Mādhava (Chaitra), according to the colophon at the end of the commentary.

This Māṇikyachandra belonged to the line of Ṣilabhadrasūri; the name of his direct preceptor was Ṣri Sāgareudu alias Sāgrāchandra. This Māṇikyachandra is not to be confused with a pupil of Vādi Devasūri of that name.

* See Prof. R. B. Athavale's article on 'Māṇikyachandra' in Puratattva Vol. I. pp. 181-187.

III

The Life and the Works of Hemachandra

18

The main problems in connection with the life of Hemachandra have been critically considered by the late Dr. Bühler in his learned monograph on the subject published in 1889 at Vienna.

No student of Hemchandra's life can afford to neglect the study of this fine piece of research. In fact this monograph has been largely drawn upon by scholars for information regarding the life of Hemachandra.

The publication of some new material and a re-examination of the sources used by that learned scholar, however, make it necessary to reconsider the whole question and revise some of his opinions. It will not be possible, however, in this introduction, to discuss all the questions in detail. *

Dr. Bühler used the following four works:—

(1) The Prabhāvakacharita of Prabhāchandrasūri completed in the year V. S. 1334-A. D. 1278.

(2) The Prabandhachintāmaṇi of Merutunga.

(3) The Prabandhakoṣa of Rājaṣekhara.

(4) The Kumārapāla Prabandha of Jinamaṇdana Upādhyaya.

The two Dvyāsrayas, the Prasaṣti to the Siddha Hema, and the Mahaviracharita from the Triṣashtiṣalākāpurushacharita – Hemchandra's own works – were also used by him.

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* See the Preface pp. IX-XI to the English translation of Dr. Bühler's Life of Hemachandra published in the Singhi Jaina Series.

To these sources we are able to add three more works: (1) the Kumārapālapratibodha of Somaprabhasūri and his Ṣatāratha Kāvya; (2) the Moharājaparājaya of Yaṣahpāla and (3) the Purātana-prabandha Samgrah. Of these three – the first two are works of authors contemporary to Hemachandra; while the last as we have seen, is a compilation supplying many details.

The Kumārapālapratibodha is, then, our main contemporary authority for information regarding Hemachandra. But the author, frankly, confesses that though there is much else that is interesting in the lives of these two great men (viz: Hemachandra and Kumārapāla), he has only touched that part which pertains to the inculcation of Jainadharma. 'For this,' he says, 'he should not be blamed, for a man may choose from a kitchen full of many eatables, only that which he likes' (p. 3, K. Pra. G. O. S.). This means that though we shall have to examine the later sources in the light of information derived from this work, there will remain many gaps in the life-story of Hemachandra to fill which we will have to rely solely upon the later sources. Of these, as we shall find, the Pra. Cha. is comparatively more useful.

The Kumārapāla-pratibodha does not directly narrate the life-story of Hemachandra. The author provides a dramatic occasion for it. Kumārapāla is very anxious to know what true religion is and is not satisfied with what his Brahmaṇical preceptors tell him; for it involved killing of animals in sacrifices. The king is not able to sleep being much troubled in mind over the question. Then his minister Bāhaḍadeva (S't Vāgbhaṭadeva) bows to the king and makes his submission thus " Oh King! if you want to know the nature of dharma anda dharma

listen attentively, for a moment, to what I say." Then Bāhaḍa narrates the life-story of Hemachandra up to the time he is introduced to the king, beginning with the history of the Pūrṇatallagachchha to which Hemachandra belonged. This dramatic occasion has been regarded by the later prabandha-writers and even modern scholars, drawing upon them, as historical. An inference is made from this that this was the first occasion when Hemachandra was introduced to Kumārapāla. However it appears to me, that this prologue is purely imaginary created by the author to give a poetic touch to his narration.

The minister Bāhaḍa, after narrating the history of Purṇatalla gachchha, informs us that Devachandra sūri – the author of the Ṭhaṇa-vṛtti and the Ṣaṇtijiṇakathā comes to Dhandhuka in course of his usual itinerary. After Devachandra had finished his sermon a handsome looking boy who was hearing the sermon approaches him and requests him to help him 'cross this ocean of the world by giving him a boat in the form of Suchāritra (that is by making him a monk).' The guru asks the boy his and his father's names. Nemi–the maternal uncle of the boy–who was present there, gives the guru some information about the boy and his parents.

He says: 'Here, (i. e. in Dhandhukka) lives a prominent merchant of the name of Chachcha who worships (his) god and preceptors. He has a wife named Chāhiṇī who is my sister. This boy is their son. His name is Changadeva. * In these days, the

* After this, the dream that Chāhinī dreamt when this boy was conceived is narrated. This shows that Hemachandra was becoming a legendary figure in a work completed 12 years after his death. Chachcha belonged to the Moḍha community.

boy's mind does not delight in anything except dharma' (p. 21).

The guru – Devachandra – said "If the boy is initiated in the order, it would be nice. We shall take him and teach him the truth of all the Ṣāstras. He will do good to the people like a Tīrthamkara. So you ask his father Chachcha to permit him to enter the religious order.' (p. 21).

The father, out of affection for his son, does not give the necessary permission. But the boy was determined to become a monk, so he left his home, being encouraged by his maternal uncle. With his guru he came to Khambhatittha that is modern Cambay, and was ordained a monk there after satisfying the Sangha (or Congregation of laymen and monks). He was given the name of Somachanda (or Somachandra). After practising the Tapa (austerities) taught by the Jaina Āgamas "he crossed, within a short time, the whole ocean of learning." His guru Ṣrī Devachandra seeing that he possessed a number of qualities impossible to acquire in this iron age, established him in the position of a Gaṇadhara; that is he was made an Achārya and a leader of other monks. Because his body had the colour of gold, he was called Hemachandra (p. 22).

Hemachandra was moving about various provinces. But he was asked by a goddess not to go to other countries leaving Gurjara Vishaya (that is Gurjara country). "You will do great benefit by staying here." Obeying this divine order Hemachandra gave up going out to other countries, and lived in Gujarat preaching to (literally awakening) many people."

The minister continues the narrative: "It was to him (Hemachandra) that the world-famed Siddharāja the - crest jewel of the learned - used to ask all his doubts. It was the hearing of his sermons that made the mind of King Jayasimha like the dharma of Jinendra. Then Jayasimha made here (i. e. in Aṇahillapura) the beautiful temple known as Rājavihāra and the temple containing the idols of four Jinas known as Siddhavihāra in Siddhapura. At the suggestion of Jayasimhadeva, this lord of Munis composed the grammar known as Siddha-Hema, a work which is the treasure-house of the science of all languages (lit. words). Jayasimha was never satiated of hearing his nectar-like speech.

"So if you want to know the nature of dharma as it is, consult with devotion this best of the munis (p. 22).

Thus he was advised by his minister Bāhaḍa."

This brief account, in fact, gives the main events of Hemachandra's life and is, on the whole, reliable. The later accounts fill in the details. We shall, here, however, consider only those which are consistent with this account without entering into a detailed criticism of the rest.

The dates for the main events of Hemachandra's life are supplied by the Pra. Cha.. According to it, Hemachandra was born in the year V. S. 1145-A. D. 1089, full-moon night of Kārtika; he was initiated into the holy order in V. S. 1150-A. D. 1094, and was made a sūri or Āchārya in V. S. 1166-A. D. 1110 (p. 347 vs. 848-49).

On the date of Hemachandra's birth, there is unanimity in all the works. As to the date of his

initiation, however, there is some discrepancy. According to the injunction of the Jaina Śāstras, no person who has not completed his eighth year is legible for initiation into the Jaina holy order. We find that the P. C., the P. P. S., the Pra. Kosa and the K–Prabandha * say that when Hemachandra was initiated, he was about eight years old. The K–Prabandha gives the date of initiation as V. S. 1154–A. D. 1098 (p. 12). This seems to be correct. The discrepancy between the Pra. Cha. and the later accounts is easily explicable; and the K–Prabandha in a sense has done this. Devachandrasūri must have come to Dhandhukā in V. S. 1150, when his eyes were, first, cast on the boy Changadeva and his own formal consent also must have been taken at that time. Considerable time, however, must have elapsed before the necessary permission was obtained from his father Chachcha. We learn from the P. C. that Changadeva came with Devachandra to Karṇāvatī and was brought up with the sons of the minister Udayana–one of whom must be Bāhaḍa or Vāgbhaṭa. After the father was appeased and satisfied, he gave his consent. According to the P. C., it was Chachha or Chāchiga, as it calls him, who performed the festival of initiation. This should be taken to mean that he was satisfied and must have been present on the occasion. It is likely that the invitations were also issued in his name. Somaprabha does not give the name of Udayana as the person who was responsible for the festive occasion; but later works give his name. This probably means that Udayana, who in V. S. 1154–A. D. 1098 must have been the officer in charge of Cambay must have paid all the expenses. According to the P. C.

Udayana had offered three lacs to Chachha, which, however, the latter had contemptuously refused to accept. So Udayana must have spent on the festive occasion a part of the money he was ready to offer to Chachha.

All these arrangements must have taken about three or four years to be completed. However that may be, it is certain that Hemachandra could not have been ordained before he was eight years old. So we may say that in V. S. 1150–A. D. 1094, Changadeva first came under the influence of Devachandra and his virgin mind untouched by wordly considerations was easily influenced; and in V. S. 1154–A. D. 1098, he gladly joined the holy order. One who is familiar with such happenings, even now, finds that these things do not happen soon and take considerable time. *

Another point which is not mentioned by Somaprabha may also be referred to here; and it is the religion of the parents of Changadeva. His mother Pāhiṇī and her brother Nemi were Jainas. But the father is called a 'Mithyātvin' – Jaina word for a non-Jaina – by the P. C. and other works. He appears to be a Māheṣvarin from his use of the word "Ṣiva – nirmālya" when he was offered money (The P. C. p. 83). There is nothing strange in this as we find that persons in those days of the same family followed different faiths. We saw that of the five sons of Ābhaḍa, two were Māheṣvarins (P. P. S. p. 33). This latitude in matters of faith should be borne in mind if we want to find

* Dr. Bühler's explanation of this matter is not acceptable to me as it is not based upon a proper understanding of the material and the custom in these matters. See pp. 6–8 & Notes p. 67, n. 17. S. J. S.

a proper explanation of the fact of persons of one faith praising the deities of other faiths.

As to the date of Hemachandra's ' Sūri-ship ' there is no difference of opinion. The Pra. Cha., as we saw, gives the year V. S. 1166-A. D. 1110. So does the later K - prabandha (p. 13). Thus we find that Hemachandra became a member of the Jaina holy order at the age of eight and became a Sūri – a leader – at the age of twenty one. *

According to the K-prabandha the ceremony of 'Sūri-ship' took place in Nāgapura (Nagor) and the man who

* It may be interesting to compare these dates with those of some of Hemachandra's great contemporaries. The dialectician Devasūri was Hemachandra's senior by two years being born in V. S. 1143-A. D. 1087; so also as a monk, Devasūri being initiated in V. S. 1152-A. D. 1096. Hemachandra, however, became Āchārya eight years before Devasūri, who was raised to that position, in the year V. S. 1174-A. D. 1118, when he was 31 years of age. At the time of the debate with Kumudachandra, on the authority of the P. C. and the Pra. Cha., Hemachandra was in Aṇahillapura and present in the court. Hemachandra (aged 36), a junior in age, but senior as an Āchārya must have been of some help to Devasūri (aged 38). At the time Hemachandra was not so famous as Devasūri.

If Jayasimha was eight years old when he came to the throne in V. S. 1150-A. D. 1094, he would be older than Hemachandra by three years. Jayasimha became a king and Hemachandra became monk at the same age, both of them too young for the positions that they occupied. Both, however, discharged the duties of their respective stations in a manner few have done.

Hemachandra was older than Kumārapāla by four years, if we are right in putting the birth of Kumārapāla in V. S. 1149-A. D. 1093. The difference in age between the two, we may note, was not much.

paid the expenses was one Dhanada, a merchant of the place (p. 13).

In the life-story of a man of such extensive and extra-ordinary learning as Hemachandra, one would desire to know how he was educated, where he was educated and who were his teachers. Unfortunately, however, we have very little information on the point. In the K-pratibodha, we find Devachandrasūri saying to the maternal uncle of Changadeva that Changadeva after taking the vow, 'will go deep into the truth of all Ṣāstras.' After he took the vow, we are told, within a short time, he crossed the ocean of learning. After he became an Āchārya, he used to go out to other countries but he was asked to stay in Gujarat. This is all the information that the Ku-pratibodha gives.

Hemachandra himself says in the praṣasti of the Trishashṭiṣalākāpurushacharita, that he got all his learning through the favour of his Guru Devachandra (v. 15 तत्प्रसादादधिगतज्ञानसंपन्नमहोदयः।) But this does not carry us far in answering our questions.

The Pra. Cha. tells us that " Somachandra quickly became master of Tarka, Lakshaṇa and Sāhitya. But he was not satisfied with his capacity of retaining a hundred thousand padas in mind; so he took permission of his Guru to propitiate the goddess living in Kāsmīra-Kāṣmīradeṣavāsinī. From Tāmralipti-that is Cambay - he started and put up for the night in a Jaina temple near by known as Ṣrī Raivatāvatāra. At midnight as he was sitting in meditation, the goddess Brāhmī appeared to him and asked him not to take the trouble of going all the way to Kāṣmīra, as she being satisfied with his devotion, would grant him what he desired.

After spending the night in her praises, in the morning Somachandra returned to his upāsṛaya – place of residence. Thus Soma became a Siddha – Sārasvata without any trouble" (Vs. 37–46). Then Soma was made a Sūri (48 – 59).

Jinamaṇḍana in his Ku–prabandha describes a similar event with more mystifying details.

Devachandra – the guru of Hemachandra–was no doubt a learned man. But the question is whether he alone could have taught the various branches of learning whose mastery Hemachandra reveals in his works. Stambhatīrtha or Cambay, where Hemachandra appears to have passed his early years, was, no doubt, then an important port of India, and must have ample facilities for acquiring learning. But it is nowhere referred to as a centre of learning in the way Aṇahillapura is. It is likely that Somachandra might have studied for some time in Aṇahillapura, but we have no information to that effect.

The reference to Kāsmīravāsinī goddess, seems to me, to be of some significance. Somachandra, no doubt, wanted to go to Kāṣmīra for further study. We know from Bilhaṇa what a great centre of learning Kāṣmira was in those days. But as the journey to Kāṣmira was, in those days, full of danger, the young scholar was advised not to go there. The appearance of the Kāṣmira – vāsinī goddess may be interpreted as suggesting that Hemachandra had something to do with Kāṣmira in matters of study.

We know from Bilhaṇa's sojourn in Aṇahillapura that Paṇḍitas from that land of Ṣāradā – as Kāṣmira was called – used to come to Gujarāta. In the Assembly

of Jayasimha was a Paṇḍita named Utsāha who was a great grammarian and whose learning was even famous in Kāsmīra (See p. CCLIII). * It was this Utsāha who was sent again by the Kāṣmīra panditas with the eight grammars from Kāṣmīra, from which Hemachandra compiled his work. It will not be an altogether wild guess if I suggest that some of Hemachandra's teachers might have been Kāsmirian Panditas and even Utsāha may be one of them. The same suggestion is supported by the fact that the sūtras of the Kāvyānuṣāsna are based upon the Kāvyaprakāṣa of Mammata, and that, after discussing the theory cf Rasa by quoting verbatim passages from the Nāṭyavedavivṛti, Hemachandra says in the Viveka in so many words "We follow Abhinavaguptapāda"; Abhinavagupta and Mammaṭa both of them were the luminaries of Kāṣmīra in learning.

After Somachandra became Hemachandrasūri, his mother Pāhiṇī, we are told by the Pra. Cha., entered the holy order. At the request of Hemachandra she was seated on a simhasāna (seat of honour) - a rare honour to a nun due to her son's greatness (vs. 61 - 63).

Now we come to the question as to when and how Hemachandra was first introduced to Jayasimha.

If we accept, on the authority of the P. C. (p. 67) and that of the Pra. Cha., that Hemachandra was present at the time of the Kumudachandra debate, we can say

* The fact that one of the earliest commentaries of Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāsa, viz:—the Samketa of Māṇikyachandra was composed in Gujarat confirms the fact that there was intimate contact between Gujarat and Kāṣmīra in matters of learning.

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that he was introduced to the court of Jayasimha by the year V. S. 1181–A.D.1125 * . At that time Hemachandra would be 31 years of age. The Pra. Cha., however, tells us that after Hemachandra was ordained a Sūri, he went to Aṇahillapura (v. 64). Two questions arise in connection with the statement : Whether this was Hemachandra's first visit to the capital ? and, how much time must have elapsed after his Sūri-ceremony before he reached the capital ? We have no means to answer these questions definitely.

The first meeting of Hemachandra and Jayasimha is described thus : When Siddharāja seated on his elephant was going out for his usual outing (known as Rājapāṭī) through the city he saw Hemachandra standing aside near a shop. He stopped the elephant near a mound and asked the sūri to say something. Hemachandra uttered a verse : 'Oh Siddha ! let your majestic elephant move fearlessly. The Diggajas (Elephants of Directions) might tremble. Don't mind them, for, you bear (the burden) of the earth.'+ The king, who was intelligent enough, understood the meaning and was pleased with the compliment. He asked Hemachandra to see him in the afternoon for diversion (vs. 65–69).

Thus on the authority of the Pra. Cha., which there is no sufficient reason to doubt, these two remarkable men of the age–one a king and the other a monk–got into touch with each other. The contact

* If the account of the K–prabandha of the first meeting of Kumārapāla and Hemachandra when the former waited upon Jayasimha, is true, we must imagine Hemachandra to be in Aṇahillapura even earlier than V. S. 1181.

+ कारय प्रसरं सिद्ध हस्तिराजमशङ्कितम् ।
त्रस्यन्तु दिग्गजाः किं तैर्भूस्त्वयैवोद्धृता यतः ॥

must have soon developed into intimacy and mutual admiration. The meeting of two such men could not but be of great consequence. The next occasion of their meeting that is referred to in the Pr. Cha. is the return of the conquering hero after subjugating Mālava, when representatives of different sects gathered to congratulate the king. Hemachandra, who was also there representing the Jaina sect, recited a verse full of resonant grandeur welcoming the king. When the verse * was explained – 'as if the exploit of the king was being explained' – the king became mightily pleased and invited the sūri again to his place (vs. 70–73 Pra. Cha.).

This meeting must have taken place between the last months of V. S. 1191 and the beginning of V. S. 1192–A. D. 1136.

The first literary fruit of the royal friendship was the great grammar of the Samskṛta language and the Prākṛta dialects known as Siddha-Hemachandra-Ṣabdānuṣāsana. In the last verse of the praṣasti at the end of this grammar, Hemachandra himself tells us how he came to write it: "Muni Hemachandra composed this grammar–faultless and complete–being repeatedly requested by him (Ṣrī Siddharāja) who was tormented by grammars very lengthy, difficult to grasp, and incomplete" (v. 35). From the verses devoted to Siddharāja in the praṣasti, it becomes quite clear that the grammar was completed after the Mālava victory. It is highly probable that Jayasimha requested Hema-

* भूमिं कामगवि ! स्वगोमयरसैरासिञ्च रत्नाकरा !
मुक्तास्वस्तिकमातनुध्वमुडुप ! त्वं पूर्णकुम्भी भव ।
धृत्वा कल्पतरोर्दलानि सरलैर्दिग्वारणास्तोरणा–
न्याधत्त स्वकरैर्विजित्य जगतीं नन्वेति सिद्धाधिपः ॥

chandra to compose a good grammar after his return from Mālava. The Pra. Cha. gives a long account describing the occasion which was responsible for the writing of this grammar which is not only not contradictory to what Hemachandra himself says, but which supplements it, and which appears to be highly probable.

'Once when the officers were showing the king books from the Library of Avanti, his (Jayasimha's) eyes fell upon a 'lakshaṇa pustaka'–a book on grammar. The king, asked "What is this?" Swāmi that is Hemachandra answered "This is the Bhoja – Vyākaraṇa. It is the prevelant grammar of the language. The lord of Mālava was the crest–jewel of the learned. He composed works on Ṣabdaṣāstra, Alamkāraṣāstra, Daivṇjaṣāstra and Tarkaṣāstra." Thus Hemachandra goes on mentioning the various works by Bhoja (vs. 74–78).' The patriotic jealousy of the king was probably roused. 'He asked: "Have we no such series of scientific books in our library? Have we no learned man (Vidvān) in all Gurjara deṣa?" The learned men (in the assembly) looked at Hemachandra, all simultaneously. The king very respectfully appealed to Hemachandra and requested him: "Fulfil my desire, Oh Maharshi! Compose the science which will give proficiency in Language. Who, other than you, is the master? At the present time, the short Kalāpaka grammar is in use; but it does not give sufficient knowledge of the language. There is the Grammar of Pāṇini. But the Brāhmaṇas say it is a part of the Veda (Vedasya angam); and through arrogance they are fault–finding. What is to be done when they are averse? Oh leader of the Munis!

compose a new grammar for the benefit of all people. I will have celebrity and you will have celebrity and merit." '

Thus, the 'abhyarthanā' or the repeated request of the king, referred to by Hemachandra himself is described by the Pra. Cha. There are, of course, poetic flourishes in the description, but there is no reason to doubt the historicity of the occasion. We have seen, before, that the rivalry between Mālava and Gujarāt was not only political but literary and cultural also. The kings of Gujarat were as jealous of the paramountcy of their learned assembly as the paramountcy of their power. Jayasimha, in fact, wanted to emulate the famous Vikrama of Ujjayinī, and after he had become Avantinātha, it was but natural for Jayasimha to make his Gujarat superior in literary culture also.

'Hemachandra replied: "Your word is only a reminder of what it is our duty to do. But there are eight grammars, and these works are, no doubt, in the library of Ṣrī Bhāratīdevī. Get them through your men from Kāṣmīradeṣa; so that, Oh Great King! the science of language be composed well" ' (vs. 85-6-7).

This speech, if it embodies the substance of what Hemachandra might have said, indicates, why Hemachandra wanted to go to Kāṣmīra. It was probably to be a great Vaiyākaraṇa; and to be a great Vaiyākaraṇa was the hall-mark of rare learning then, even as it is now, among the panditas of India. It secondly indicates that Hemachandra was thinking of writing a grammar even before the king requested him to do so. The grammar with its commentary and other appendices was quickly completed after the request

of the king. Looking to the great bulk of the matter and the time and the energy that would be required to prepare it, it would have been physically impossible if the work was not begun much earlier.

'Jayasimha immediately sent his officers to the Land of Vāgdevī-Learning. They went to Pravarapura – the same place from where Bilhaṇa had come, – and propitiated the goddess who ordered her officers to send men with the collection of books, as "Hemachandra was her own incarnation." The ministers of Bhāratī gave the books and sent a Pandita named Utsāha' (v. 88 – 92). *

'Hemachandra went through the collection of grammars and prepared a new and wonderful grammar which was named Siddha-Hemachandra Ṣabdānuṣāsana (v. 96). "The grammar was acclaimed as the best among grammars by all learned men and was accepted

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* This Utsāha Paṇḍita must have been the same as is referred to in the Mudrita K. C. as one whose wonderful and great energy of learning was known in Śāradādeśa (p. 45)+ Thus there is no doubt about the historicity of this person. But it creates a chronological difficulty. If Utsāha pandita was present in V. S. 1181–A. D. 1125 in the court of Jayasimha, how could he be sent with the officers of Jayasimha in V. S. 1192–A. D. 1136 or after. We can explain the difficulty by supposing that Utsāha might have returned to Kāśmira after V. S. 1181 and that he must have been sent with the officers of Jayasimha to Gujarat, probobly because he was a familiar figure there Or we may have to assume that this grammar-writing incident might have happened much earlier, say, in V. S. 1180 and that it might have been finished only after Mālava victory in V. S. 1192 A. D. 1136. It may have something to do with Hemachandra's expedition of learning to Kāśmira.

as an authority by all the modern Panditas" (98–100). At the end of each pāda was attached a verse praising the kings of Chālukya dynasty from Mūlarāja onwards. The whole work was copied and sent to different parts of India. Twenty copies were sent to Kāṣmīra which were respectfully kept in her library by the Goddess of Learning' (v. 101–111).

'Kākala–a Kāyastha learned in eight grammars–was appointed the teacher of this grammar.* On the fifth of the bright half of every month known as Jnāna–panchamī, examinations were held and the successful candidates rewarded with armlets by the king (v. 112–115).

The enthusiasm of the reception that was accorded to his grammar must have inspired Hemachandra to write other works on allied subjects such as – lexicons, poetics, metrics, etc We shall refer to these when we come to discuss Hemachandra's works.

Many are the incidents reported by the Pra. Cha., the P. C., and the K. Prabandh of Jinamaṇdana and other prabandhas about Hemachandra and Jayasimha. We cannot go into all these, but refer to one which throws light on the religious and ethical influence that Hemachandra exercised on Jayasimha.

Jayasimha, desirous of liberation, once, asked the leaders of various religious sects as to what was the truth in the matters of God, Religion and the Pātra (a proper perron)? Every sectarian praised his own creed and

* This Kākala is mentioned by Hemachandra himself, in his grammar as Kakkala. इति कक्कलस्य व्याख्या। अ. र. पृ. ३०. See the Purātattva Vol. IV. p. 69.

slighted others. The king felt perplexed at this and consulted Hemachandra. He gave his answer in the form of a parable from the Purāṇas. The substance of it is as follows. 'A wife in her effort to win over her husband from another woman got him transformed into a bull unwittingly. She repented, and once, standing under a tree and grazing her bull-husband began to bewail her lot. The God Ṣiva was passing through the heavens with his consort who heard the wailing of this unhappy woman and who asked her husband the cause and the remedy of it. Ṣiva said that in the shadow of the tree was growing a herb which could restore the human form. The woman heard this but did not know which was that particular herb; she drew a circle on the ground on which there was shadow and began to cut the grass and put it into the bull's mouth. When that particular herb, without her knowing it, was placed in the mouth of the bull he was restored to human shape. Hemachandra said, "Just as that particular herb, even though it was unidentified, did its work, similarly in this iron age even though the truth is hidden, one may get its benefit by respecting all darṣanas with proper devotion. That is a fact."' (P. C. p. 70).

On other occasions Hemachandra is reported to have preached that ethical code which forms the common substance of all religions. *

Whether these stories are historical or not, they do indicate the spirit of Hemachandra's preachings to his royal friend. From the Anekānta point of view of Jainism, Hemachandra was doing just the thing that

* See the K. Prabandha of Jinamandana pp. 14 – 15.

was expected of him; for, Anekānta is claimed to be 'Sarvadarṣana – samgraha' by Hemachandra and other Jaina logicians. ×

Various motives explaining Hemachandra's attitude have been imagined by Dr. Bühler and other scholars which may or may not be real. Subjective element greatly affects such interpretations. Historically we can say this much–that even in those days in every sect, there were persons of higher type who took a broad and truly spiritual view of religious matters and who could understand the essential identity pervading through the warring creeds. We may quote as an instance the name of Jñānadeva,–the Ṣaiva pontiff of the time of Bhima I–who is reported to have said "Ṣiva is Jina. The emphasis on difference is the sign of a mithyāmati–a pseudo–philosopher." We may also remind the reader of the liberal minded Purohita Someṣvara who was instrumental in getting a footing for the suvihita monks * . So there is nothing improbable in imagining that Hemachandra really took a liberal view of things. His prayer to Ṣiva in Somanātha–pattana might also be regarded in this light as inspired by such a wider vision. He has also told us, in his Dvyāṣraya, how a Jaina sees in Ārhata, Ṣiva, Vishṇu and Brahmā (C. I. v. 79). This, however, did not make Hemachandra an inch less Jaina.

The practical effect of such a moral guidance must have been what it is reported to be by the contemporary

* We may mention another Someṣvara a great–grand son of this Someṣvara as a later example of this catholic type. He was a friend of the minister Vastupāla, and the author of the K. K. and the Surathotsava.

writer – Somaprabhāsūri, viz. 'in all doubtful questions he became worthy of consultation'×. We saw from the S. D. K. – which strictly maintains a Brahmanical and Ṣaivite atmosphere throughout the poem in contrast to the Jaina atmosphere of the P. D. K. – that Jayasimha built a Jaina temple of the last Tīrthamkara in Siddhapura after he had rebuilt Rudra Mahālaya, and that he put certain Brāhmaṇas to look after it– a fact confirmed by Somaprabha's K–Pratibodha also. In the last years of his life, Jayasimha must have felt some inclination towards Jainism as is evidenced by the Arab Geographer Al Idrasi who says that the king used to worship the Buddha image. This, however, does not mean that he wavered in his devotion to Ṣiva. In ancient India, kings were, by policy, tolerant of the different creeds of their subjects. In the case of Jayasimha, however, in his last years at least, we may imagine, it was not merely a matter of policy.

This inclination towards Jainism must have been largely the result of Jayasimha's contact with Hemachandra whose extraordinary learning and intelligence as well as strictly ascetic life of the Suvihita type as distinguished from the easygoing and luxurious life of the Chaityavāsi abbots, must have greatly impressed the mind of the king. There were, also, other Jaina monks in whose contact Jayasimha had been. We saw that Vīrāchārya was Jayasimha's friend from childhood. So also another Hemachandra – known as Maladhāri Hemachandra – had some influence with Jayasimha. This Hemachandra got the permission of Siddharāja to fly flags and put golden eggs on the Ṣikharas of

× See p. CCLXVII.

Jaina temples. He also got a copper-plate order from him prohibiting the killing of all animals for eighty days in a year. +

Now let us consider the relationship of Hemachandra with Kumārapāla. The first question that faces us is as to when did Kumārapāla and Hemachandra first meet. Dr. Bühler, on the strength of some verses in the Mahāvīracharita of Hemachandra, comes to the conclusion that 'Kumārapāla's acquaintence with Hemachandra began, according to the verse 53, in the time when the empire had achieved its greatest expansion and when the war-expeditions and conquests were over" (p. 34). The learned Doctor rejects the accounts of the Prabandhas on this topic as got up later on 'with a view to motivating the later relationship' (p. 34).

It appears to me, however, that the learned Doctor draws a conclusion from the verses based upon an implication which the verses do not carry. For the order of narration of events does not necessarily imply their chronological order, and when we study the verses carefully we find that no such sequence is intended. The first seven verses (45 – 51) describe Kumārapāla and his beneficent rule, the next verse (52) describes the extent of his empire and the last six verses (53–58) describe the 'daily' contact with Hemachandra. This is merely a way of narrating and does not imply, as Dr. Bühler believes, that Kumārapāla got acquainted with Hemachandra after the 'greatest expansion' of his empire. If it implies any such thing, it would be

+ See Note 53 in Dr. Bühler's Life of Hemachandra pp. 83-84 S. J. S.

only that their intimate contact 'doing honour daily to that monk' began after that 'greatest expansion' of his empire. It does not mean that their first acquaintence began at that time.

Another argument of Dr. Bühler that the prabandhas though mention early acquaintence do not describe the relationship of Hemachandra and Kumārapāla immediately after the latter became king. First, we cannot infer anything from the absence of mention, and secondly Kumārapāla in the beginning of his reign was too busy subduing his internal and external enemies and consolidating and extending his empire to think of religiously meeting Hemachandra. This, however, does not preclude the possibility of his early acquaintance and even occasional meeting after he got the throne. On the contrary, it appears to me that one of the causes of Kumārapāla's attachment to Hemachandra must have been the support he got, no doubt indirectly, from the monk through his rich and influential followers like Udayana and his son Vāgbhaṭa.

We have already referred to the meeting of Kumārapāla and Hemachandra when the former in his wanderings was looking for a shelter. We have also referred to the Horoscope of Kumārapāla which Hemachandra had cast. It is not necessary to assume the scientific validity of astrology in order to believe in the reality of this incident. For such things were quite common in those days as they are even now; and astrology with medicine was practised by Jaina monks in those days and was a means of getting influence over the people. So we may very well believe that the fulfilment of Hemachandra's forecast was one of the

events which made Kumārapāla believe in the infallibility of Hemachandra.

The Kumārapālaprabandha of Jinamaṇḍana mentions an earlier meeting of Kumārapāla and Hemachandra. ' Once Śrī Kumārapāla went to Pattana to wait upon Śrī Jayasimhadeva. There he saw Hemāchārya seated on a lion-seat before the king. He felt that this learned Jaina muni is being respected by the king. It would be a meritorious thing to meet him ' So Kumārapāla went to the lecture-hall of Hemāchārya and asked him which was the best virtue. Hemachandra answered: " To look upon the wives of other people as one's own sisters is the king of virtues"; and gave a sermon on chastity (pp. 18 – 22).

If this meeting was at all historical, it must have been before Kumārapāla was compelled to wander about for fear of his life, that is about V. S. 1169-A. D. 1113. (See p. CCI).

According to the Pra. Cha. when Kumārapāla could not succeed in subduing Arṇorāja, he offered worship at the suggestion of his minister Bāhaḍa to the image of Ajitanātha which was installed by the hands of Hemachandra (vs. 451 – 452).

+ From the P. D. K., the Ku. Pratibodha and the Moharāja-parājaya-all contemporary works-we gather an impression that in the latter part of his reign, Kumārapāla's manner of life was like that of a good Śrāvaka following the twelve vows. Through his royal authority he had promulgated Amāri or non-killing of animals (D. K.). From the Moharāja-parājaya we learn that he tried to check drinking, gambling etc. He also built several Jaina temples.

According to Jinamaṇḍana's K-Prabandha it was in V. S. 1216-A. D. 1160 that Kumārapāla publicly took the Jaina vows. This date is not improbable.

Kumārapāla, however, as we saw, had no leisure up to V. S. 1207-A. D. 1151 to think about religious or ethical things. It was after his empire was consolidated that Kumārapāla came in real spiritual touch of Hemachandra. His minister Bāhaḍa must have been instrumental in fostering the relationship between Kumārapāla and Hemachandra. This is how we may interpret the passage from the Mahāviracharita about Kumārapāla.

Kumārapāla must have had great faith in Hemachandra. His forecast about his future kingship given at a time when he had not enough to eat, had come true. Hemachandra was then famous as a learned man and much respected by his predecessor Jayasimha. His great ministers like Bāhaḍa and others were Hemachandra's followers. Thus Kumārapāla was prepossessed in favour of Hemachandra. As the contact continued from day to day, Kumārapāla must have come more and more under the spiritual influence of Hemachandra. After some time Kumārapāla must have looked upon him as his guru.

Just as Hemachandra composed the Siddha-Hema grammar at the request of Jayasimha, so according to his own testimony, he composed the Yogaṣāstra, the Vītarāga-stutis and the Triṣhashṭiṣalākā-purusha-charita at the request of Kumārapāla.

From the fact that Hemachandra calls Kumārapāla a Paramārhata in the praṣasti of the Trishashṭiṣalakā-purusha-charita as also in the Abhidhānachintāmaṇi, we can infer that in Hemachandra's eyes Kumārapāla by that time must be following the ethical code of Jainism to such an extent as to deserve that title.

Here we might consider the question of Kumārapāla's conversion to Jainism. In what sense, we may ask, Kumārapāla was converted to Jainism? There is sufficient proof for one answer, viz:-he was trying to follow the Jaina ethical mode of life. That he regarded Hemachandra as his spiritual guru and offered worship at the Jaina temples might also be taken as real. But if by conversion is meant that Kumārapāla abjured the faith of his fore-fathers and gave up the worship of Ṣiva and other Puranic deities, it is contradicted by other historical facts. First of all, we find, in the last canto of the S. D. K., Kumārapāla distinctly mentioning his devotion to Ṣiva; and secondly in the inscription of Bhâva-Bṛhaspati of the year V. S. 1229-A. D. 1173, the last year of Kumārapāla's reign, he is called 'Māheṣvara-nṛpāgraṇī, the foremost of Māheṣvara kings' (v. 47). From these facts, it becomes clear that though Kumārapāla's mode of life was changed, that though the old way of worshipping with animal-sacrifice was also completely given up, he did not cease to be a worshipper of Ṣiva – the god of his fore-fathers.

This might appear anomalous to people accustomed to strict sectarianism; but in those days of religious elasticity it was not uncommon.

We saw what advice Hemachandra gave to Siddharāja-Jayasimha. When Hemachandra, according to the P. C., went to Somanātha-Pattana with Kumārapāla, he was asked by the king to utter prayers to Ṣiva; and Hemachandra did it in verses which are preserved. So also in a more authentic form, we find prayers to Ṣiva in the S. D. K.. As Buddhisāgara pointed out to Someṣvara, it was only the emphasis

on dayā – compassion especially towards animals, that mainly mattered; and we find Kumārapāla promulgating Amāri and annuling the law of confiscating the mṛta-vitta (– the wealth of a man who died without heir).

The effect of Kumārapāla's efforts to reform ethically the life of the people did not become permanent; but in some respects they must have deeply affected the consciousness of the people in Gujarat. This can be inferred from the fact that even to this day in Gujarat there is a natural aversion to killing animals, eating flesh and drinking liquors at least in higher society and that in all grades of Hindus it is regarded as a religious and meritorious act to give up these things.

We saw, while discussing Kumārapāla's reign that if the account of the Prabandhakoṣa was to be believed, Hemachandra was consulted by Kumārapāla even in important political matters such as succession to the throne. In other matters, especially those pertaining to public reforms according to his preachings, his advice also must have been sought. In the colophon of the Ṭ. Ṣ. Ṣalakā-purusha-charita which was one of his later works, Hemachandra informs his readers as follows on this point:

" The Chālukya King Kumārapāla–the conqueror of Chedi, Daṣārṇa, Mālava, Kuru, Sindhu and other inaccessible countries through the power of his own arms,–a veritable lion,–a descendent of Ṣrī Mūlarāja, –properly disciplined, and a great Ārhata (devotee of Arhat), once bowed to him (Āchārya Hemachandra) and spoke " Oh Lord ! receiving orders from you who render service without any expectation, I stopped throughout the earth all things that lead to hell–such

sinful things as gambling and drinking liquors, gave up taking the wealth of a person who died without a son and decorated the earth with the temples of Arhat and thus became Samprati of the present age." (vs. 16 – 18).

Hemachandra's relationship with other influential persons like the great Udayana and his equally great son Bāhaḍa as also with Ābhaḍa and others was also very intimate. His attitude towards the learned men of other sects was, generally, liberal. He, as we saw, greatly appreciated the learning of Devabodha of the Bhāgavata sect and was instrumentsal in bringing about friendship between him and Ṣrīpāla. His relationship with Āmiga, however, must not have been cordial. In those days of debates and controversies, he must have given and received many blows in the battles of wits. But the discipline of tapas that he received early in life must have made this man of intellect sufficiently patient to bear them calmly, and not allow them to come in the way of his spiritual development. We shall come to this aspect of his character when we discuss his works especially the Yogaṣāstra

Hemachandra, according to the Prac. Cha., died in the year V. S. 1229-A. D. 1173 at the ripe old age of 84 years – a short time before Kumārapāla died.*

* Hemachandra had a group of disciples who were very learned and who helped him in his works. Of these, Rāmachandra deserves special mention. He is reputed to be the author of a hundred prabandhas that is compositions. Some of his plays are published; they are good as literature and show considerable skill in the technique of play-writing. His Nāṭyadarpaṇa–a work on

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Now we come to the literary work of Hemachandra. Tradition credits him with the authorship of innumerable compositions, to the extent of three and a half crore verses. Some of these works are, however, of doubtful authorship; yet the works, which are undoubtedly Hemachandra's, are so extensive in volume and varied in subject-matter, as to make one agree with those who have conferred upon him the title of 'Kalikālasarvajna – The Omniscient of the Iron Age.'

Hemachandra himself provides us with definite information about his main works.

In the colophon of the T. S. P. C. already referred to, Kumārapāla, after mentioning what he did at the order of Hemachandra, says "Formerly at the request of the devoted king Siddharāja-my predecessor, you first composed a grammar with appendices, and made easy by a good commentary. Then for me you composed the fault-less Yogaṣāstra and for people (Lokāya) Dvyāṣraya, and other Ṣāstras – the principal among them being Chhandas, Alamkṛti and Nāma-Samgraha. You are always ready to do good to people; yet I make this much request that for the knowledge of people like myself bring to light the lives of sixty-three great men.

"On account of his pressure Hemachandrāchārya composed in fine language the lives of great men with the sole view of imparting Dharma" (v. 18-20).

Dramaturgy-has been published in the G. O. S. It throws some new light on the history of Sanskrta Drama. His Kumāra-vihāra Ṣataka is a fine piece of description and gives an idea of what big temples were in those days. The poem should be studied carefully by every student of Gujarat architecture and art.

These verses mention Hemachandra's main works in his own words. They are—

(1) The Grammar with appendices and commentary, that is the Ṣabdānuṣāsana.

(2) The Yogaṣāstra.

(3) The Dvyāṣraya.

(4) The Chhandonuṣāsana.

(5) The Kāvyānuṣāsana.

(6) The Nāmasamgraha, that is, the Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi, Deṣi Nāmamālā and other dictionaries, and (7) The Trishashtiṣalākā-purusha-charita.

The order of mention, however, is not the chronological order.

To these, on the authority of their respective colophons and that of Somaprabha and that of Yaṣahpāla (the author of the Moharājaparājaya), we add the Vītarāgastutis and the two Dvātriṃṣikās and the Pramāṇāmīmāmsā.

Ṣabdānuṣāsana is Hemachandra's first major work. We do not know if he had written anything before this. It is likely, however, that he must have had some practice in writing.

We have, already, described the occasion of composing this grammar, how the work was done and what success it met with. According to the P. C., the whole grammar was written in a year. This, however, appears to be physically impossible. Any how the work, must have been finished before the death of Siddharāja in V. S. 1199-A. D. 1143.

A grammar consists of five parts: (1) Sūtra (2) Gaṇapāṭha. (3) Dhātupāṭha (4) Uṇadi and (5) Lingānuṣāsana.

In the case of other grammars, all these five parts are composed by different persons. In the case of Siddha-Hema, all the five parts are the work of Hemachandra. This is one of the unique features of this grammar which makes it a complete and consistent whole. Another unique feature of this Ṣabdānuṣāsana is that it is a grammar of Samskṛta as well as of Prākṛta dialects.

The S. H. consists of eight Adhyāyas, each adhyāya consisting of four pādas. The total volume of the sūtras is 1100 ṣlokas (each ṣloka having eight syllables). The total number of the sūtras is 4685 of which 3566 describe the Samskṛta language while 1119 the Prākṛta dialects. On these Sūtras, Hemachandra has written two commentaries the Laghuvṛtti and the Bṛhadvṛtti - the Small Commentary and the Great Commentary. Supplementing these are the Dhātupārāyaṇa with his own commentary, Uṇādi with his own commentary and the Lingānuṣāsana with a Bṛhat-Tīkā *.

* I cannot go into a detailed description of the work here. I refer the reader to the learned article of the Vyākarana Tīrtha Pandita Bechardas with the title 'Gujaratanu Pradhāna Vyākaraṇa' 'The Principal Grammar of Gujarat' published in the Puratattva, Vol. IV, pp. 61-100. Pandit Bechardas who is a great Vaiyākaraṇa (master of grammar) himself has given a detailed description of the S. H., compared it with other Samskṛta grammars by pointing its indebtedness to them as well as its special features, showed its superiority as a text book, and given us an idea as to what a mine of grammatical lore is its Bṛhadvṛtti. In an appendix to his article the learned Paṇḍita has given a historical account of other grammars of Gujarat and also of later commentators.

Dr. Belvalkar's 'Systems of Sanskrta Grammar' contains a chapter on the Hemachandra School (pp. 73-81).

Hemachandra also wrote a Bṛhannyāsa on his grammar–a fragment of which has been discovered and edited by Pt. Bhagavandas Doshi. According to the tradition the extent of this work was 84000 ṣlokas. If we are to judge from the fragment, we can say that the tradition is right. This work is modelled upon the Mahābhāshya of Patanjali.

Hemachandra, has, consciously, tried to give his work a non-sectarian character by making his Mangala in such a way as to be acceptable to all the sects. In the commentary on the second sūtra, Hemachandra makes it clear that "As Ṣabdānuṣāsana is common to all sects, it would be very pleasant to have recourse to Syādvāda which is the synthesis of all Darṣanas."

This grammar is not only a work of profound and wide learning, but is written with such skill as to make the whole subject clear to students of different grades. The author has not pretended to be original in a subject where there was not much scope for originality of matter, but has aimed at being as useful to the students of the subject as he could. Judged from this point of view there is a distinct originality in the treatment of the matter. And we must remember, the royal request was to prepare a grammar which would be 'perfect' and yet 'easy to grasp'. That purpose is completely fulfilled in this work. In fact, in estimating the works of Hemachandra, we must always keep in mind the aim which he generally makes clear in the beginning of his books.

After the grammar with its Angas was completed Hemachandra undertook lexicography of Samskṛta and Deṣi words. We learn this from the first verses of

the works themselves. Here also Hemachandra wrote the texts as well as commentaries. He says:—

"I, who have finished the Ṣabdānuṣāsana with its angas, bowing to the Arhatas (the worshippable ones and the Jinas) compose Nāma–mālā–the Garland of Nouns, some of which are not capable of derivation according to grammatical rules, some are, and others in certain senses are derivable and in certain not." In the commetary, Hemachandra gives this Garland of Nouns the name of Abhidhānachintāmaṇi.

In the first verses of the commentary Hemachandra says "Bowing to the speech of those who are the authors of Dharmatīrtha, I compose an exposition (Vivṛti) on my Nāmamālā which will make clear the essence. (This might also mean that the name of the commentary is Tattvabodhavidhāyinī (1). This effort is for the purpose of Ṣreyas. What is the good of boasting? The thoughtful will never indulge in praising one's self and slandering others (2). In this work, be it noted, Prāmāṇya – (that is – authenticity of words etc.) is from Vāsuki and Vyāḍi, Vyutpatti (derivation) from Dhanapāla, and Prapancha (comprehensiveness) from Vāchaspati and others (3)." Hemachandra thus mentions his principal authorities in the third verse. Whether a particular word is genuine or not he has decided on the authority of Vāsuki and Vyādi; as to how a particular word is to be explained, he has consulted Dhanapāla to whom we have already referred. To make his work comprehensive he has drawn upon Vāchaspati and others.

The second verse is significant. It suggests that Hemachandra's grammar might have been

severely criticised and in his opinion unjustly criticised by some contemporary critics. That is probably why he is so particular in referring to his authorities in the very beginning of this work. We shall touch this point again when we come to discuss his Pramāṇamīmāṃsā.

Appendices known as A. C. Parisishta–were also composed and placed at the end of each Kāṇḍa of the A. C. This work is, however, not a separate entity and we have no means to decide whether it is Hemachandra's own work or some of his students.

Hemachandra completed his Samskṛta lexicon by writing a supplement known as Anekārtha–samgraha. In the first verse, Hemachandra says " I, who have made a collection of words having one meaning, now, contemplating the Arhats, prepare Anekārtha–samgraha (collection of words having more than one meaning) by arranging words, according to their number of syllables, in six chapters."

The commentary on the Anekārtha Samgraha is composed by Hemachandra's disciple Mahendrasūri in the name of Hemachandra, as M. himself says, at the end of the second Kāṇḍa (p. 86 Edition of the A. S. by Th. Tachariac).

Thus Hemachandra established his reputation as a Samskṛta Lexicographer. That this work became current and that Hemachadra was regarded as an authority is proved by many quotations from his work in later commentaries as well as from the verse: हैमचन्द्रश्च रुद्रश्चामरोऽयं सनातनः ।

Abhidhānachintāmaṇi with its supplements and commentaries is, like the S. H., characterized by the

clearness of its exposition and the comprehensiveness of its subject-matter. One might say that the commentary Tattvabodhavidhāyinī which was composed in the reign of Kumārapāla is a veritable mine of information on Samskṛta lexicography. If it is studied carefully and critically, it will throw a flood of light on the history of the subject.

Just as Hemachandra, by composing an adhyāya on the Prākṛta dialects, made his grammar unique and comprehensive of all languages current in India, to make his lexicographical work perfect, he composed a dictionary of Deṣya words.

The last verse of the work says " This collection of Deṣi words named Rayaṇāvali (a necklace of jewels) is composed by Sirī Hemachandra as a seshalaesha (a small appendix) to grammar' (v. 77). In the commentary it is called an appendix to the eighth Adhyāya. Thus according to the author himself, it is to be regarded as connected with his grammar. We gather the same impression from the introduction to the commentary also.

So strictly speaking, we should say that this work belongs to the department of grammar rather than that of lexicography. The word Ṣabdānuṣāsana, however, is comprehensive enough to include grammar and lexicography. Hemachandra himself uses this word in this comprehensive sense in his Kāvyānuṣāsana.

This work on Deṣi words which resisted all attempts at systematization was of peculiar difficulty; and its accomplishment was a matter of satisfaction to the Āchārya. He, himself, says " Deṣi is difficult to collect, and even if collected, it is generally difficult to grasp. Therefore, Āchārya Hemachandra collects it and classifies it."

By using the word 'Deśī' in the feminine gender, Hemachandra wishes us to understand it as a part of the language which could not be treated satisfactorily according to the rules of Samskṛta and Prākṛta languages which he had formulated in his grammar. Hemachandra, nowhere, suggests that the Deśī cannot be derived from the Samskṛta. Dr. Bühler indulged in much gratuitous criticism as he did not clearly grasp this conception of the author himself.

Prof. Muralydhar Banerjee in his introduction to the Deśīnāmamāla has ably discussed the whole question of Deśī and answered the points raised against Hemachandra (Sections I & II).

As to the illustrative verses, Prof. Pischell remarked " These examples are either void of all sense or of an incredible stupidity ...... It was a most disgusting task to make out the sense of these examples some of which have remained rather obscure to me " (p. 8) Introduction Deśināmamāla. B. S. S.).

Prof. Banerjee, however, remarks "If the illustrative gāthās of Hemachandra which have appeared to Pischel as examples of 'extreme absurdity' or nonsense are read correcting the errors made by the copyists in the manner explained above they will yield very good sense. A few examples of such corrected readings are given below to make the point clear" (pp. XLIII to LI). Afrer discussing this point in detail, Prof. Banerjee comes to the conclusion: " As the gāthās when read in this way give a good sense, they can no longer be regarded as examples of 'incredible stupidity.' They will be appreciated, it is hoped, by every lover of poetry as a remarkable feat of

ingenuity worthy of Hemachandra and far beyond the capacity of his disciples to whom Pischel is inclined to ascribe them" (p. L I).

This is an example of how further research can sometimes reverse the previous judgements.

The importance of Rayaṇāvali or Deṣināmamālā cannot be exaggerated for the philology of modern provincial languages of India. It deserves to be utilized more by our philologists than it has been up till now.

In this work, as in his previous ones, Hemachandra has made good use of the works of his predecessors. He quotes about twelve authors and two koṣas. * Avantisundarī is one of the authorities referred to. She must be the wife of the poet Rājaṣekhara who refers to her as an authority in his Kāvyamīmāmsā and who, therefore, must have been very learned and written some works on the subject.

After the work of Rayaṇāvalī was over, Hemachandra prepared a botanical dictionary known as Nighaṇṭuṣesha. He himself says in the first verse "I, who have made collections of words having one meaning, those having more than one meaning and Deṣya words, shall, after bowing to the foot-lotus of Arhat, speak of Nighantuṣesha (1).

No commentary on this work is known.

This completed Hemachandra's work on lexicography. The grammar comprizing the five angas with their commentaries, and the four lexicons–the Abhidhānachintāmaṇi with its commentary, the Anekārtha-samgraha, the Rayaṇāvali (of Deṣya words) with its commentary, and the Nighaṇṭuṣesha–completed his Ṣabdānuṣāsana that is Science of Words.

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* Banerjee's Introduction to Desināmamālā p. XXXIX.

Thus in different departments of the study of language as then known, Hemachandra provided students of Gujarat with excellent text books containing the substance of each discipline-presented in a lucid, precise and rational form; for advanced students Hemachandra wrote his copious commentaries giving them all the available information on the subject up to date. For purposes of study Hemachandra's works are unsurpassed.

Thus was fulfilled the royal wish of Jayasimha Siddharāja in a manner and a style befitting that monarch, who, above all, loved grandeur and aimed at supremacy in everything. One may say, Jayasimha not only built a University in mortar and stone but provided it with excellent books for study * .

It is likely that this part of Hemachandra's literary activity was finished by V. S. 1199-A. D. 1143 the end of Siddharāja's reign and the beginning of Kumrāapāla's reign. Seven years (V. S 1192-1199) were scarcely too many for such a stupendous task. It was only possible for a man like Hemachandra whose powers of concentration and retention were developed by Yogic exercises. And it is a question whether even he could have accomplished it unaided and without ample facility of books. As it was, Hemachandra was provided with a good library by his royal friend. Hemachandra, also, had the assistance of his

* As a modern poet of Gujarat with a fine pun on the word Haima has said "Siddharāja by lighting the Haima-pradipa-(the Golden Lamp and the light-giver Hema) of Sarasvatī made his name meaningful."

हैमप्रदीप प्रगटावी सरस्वतीनो सार्थक्य कीधुं निज नामतुं सिद्धराजे.

From the poem Rāṇakadevī, by Prof. Ramanarayan Pathak.

pupils like Mahendrasūri, Rāmachandra, Guṇachandra and others who were only next to him in learning.

The Pra. Cha. supplies us with a brief but realistic description of the audiance-hall of Hemachandra which was something like an Academy of Letters. The occasion is the coming of Devabodha – the Bhāgavata to see Hemachandra.

"He (Devabodha) went to the audience – hall (Āsthāna) of Śri Hemachandrasūri. There the great poets were busy composing new works; great number of words were being written upon a number of paṭṭikā – paṭṭas (writing boards); discussions with one another were going on about the derivation of words and illustrations were being quoted from old poets. It was the residence of Brahmollāsa, the parental abode of Bhāratī, a place where the learned were well provided. +

The Samskṛta Dvyāśraya Kāvya must have been begun after the completion of the Siddha–Hema. But this epic of twenty cantos must have been composed at intervals. How many cantos were written before the death of Jayasimha we cannot exactly say. The last five cantos which are devoted to Kumārapāla, were, no doubt, written in the middle of Kumārapāla's reign; but it is a question whether all the first fifteen

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* अन्यदाभिनवग्रन्थगुम्फाकुलमहाकवौ ।
पट्टिकापट्टसंघातलिख्यमानपदव्रजे ॥
शब्दव्युत्पत्तयेऽन्योन्यं कृतोहापोहबन्धुरे ।
पुराणकवि-संदृष्ट-दृष्टान्तीकृतशब्दके ॥
ब्रह्मोल्लासनिवासेऽत्र भारतीपितृमन्दिरे ।
श्रीहेमचन्द्रसूरीणामास्थाने सुस्थकोविदे ॥

Pra. Cha. p. 314, vs. 292-294.

cantos were finished before V. S. 1199-A.D. 1143; though Jayasimha might have insisted upon its completion. I think the first fourteen cantos narrating the events up to the conquest of Mālava must have been composed early enough to be placed before Jayasimha. The fifteenth canto which refers to the succession of Kumārapāla, was, probably, written in the early part of Kumārapāla's reign.

The remaining five cantos and the Prākṛta Dvyāṣraya must have been written in the latter part of Kumārapāla's reign. *

The substance of these historical epics, we have utilized in describing the history of the Chālukya family of Aṇahillapura. Another name of the S. D. K. is Chālukyavamṣotkīrtana as that of the P. D. K. is Kumārapālacharita.

Of the poetic merits of these epics, if any, I shall speak later on.

After the Ṣabdānuṣāsana, comes the Kāvyānuṣāsana. In the second sūtra, Hemachandra says " The correct speech was discussed by us in Ṣabdānuṣāsana, now its poetic aspect is being laid down by us in its correct form." In the commentary, Ṣabdānuṣāsana is described as the Siddha-Hemachandrābhidhāna-grammar bearing the name Siddha - Hemachandra. The identity of the authorship is also mentioned.

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* Another alternative suggestion that both the D. Ks were written, after the Anuṣāsanas were finished in the reign of Kumārapapāla is also tenable. The fact that they are not mentioned in Anuṣāsanas can also be interpreted in both ways, viz:—that either the poem being written piecemeal was incomplete at the time of the composition of the Anuṣāsanas or that they were not begun at all.

The Viveka was evidently composed after the Chhandonuṣāsana, as it refers to it. The general description of the work, we have already given in the pages I-X of this introduction. Its subject-matter will be critically discussed in a separate section.

The Chhandonuṣāsana was composed after the Kāvyānuṣāsana, as we learn from its first verse; but before the Viveka on the Kāvyānuṣāsana, as we just now saw. Hemachandra says in the first verse " I, who have completed Ṣabdā - Kāvya - Anuṣāsanas, after contemplating the speech of Arhat, will speak of the Anuṣāsana of the Chhandas (metres) useful to poetry ". In the commentary, the identity of the authorship of the Ṣabdānuṣāsana, the Kāvyānuṣāsana and the Chhandonuṣāsanā is reiterated.

This work consists of about 763 sūtras divided into eight Adhyāyas. * As usual, the commentary is lucid and interesting. The information that it gives on the Prākṛata and especially the Apabhraṃṣa metres is invaluable, and is likely to throw much light on the

* The first Adhyāya which consists of 16 sūtras is called the Saṇjādhyāya, because it explains the technical words and signs used in the work. The second Adhyāya consists of 415 sūtras and is called the Samavṛttavyāvarṇanā (because it describes metres of uniform lines). The third Adhyāya consists of 73 sūtras and describes arddhasama vṛttas, vishama vṛttas and mātrā chhandas. The fourth Adhyāya consists of 91 sūtras and describes Āryā, Galitaka, Khanjaka, and Ṣīrshaka metres. The fifth Adhyāya consists of 49 sūtras and discusses Utsāha and other metres. The sixth Adhyāya consists of 29 sūtras and describes Shatpadī, Chatushpadī etc. The seventh consists of 73 sūtras and describes Dvipadī; the eighth consists of 17 sūtras and describes scansion.

history of metres used in the different provincial languages of India. The illustrative stanzas also deserve attention; especially the Prākṛta and Apabhramṣa ones. The poetic quality of many of these verses is really high and if the majority of them are the work of Hemachandra, as it is supposed to be, they would show him to be a lyric poet of a high order.

The work requires to be critically edited and annotated.

Thus these three Anuṣāsanas, the Ṣabdānuṣāsana, the Kāvyānuṣāsana and the Chhandonuṣāsana – and if the Lingānuṣāsana is to be taken separately, four Anuṣāsanas, and the two D. K. s comprise among themselves, the whole field of Lakshaṇa and Sāhitya vidyās. They are Hemachandra's authentic contributions to the science and the art of language as they were understood in Ancient India.

Thus after making his contributions to the study of Lakshaṇa and Sāhitya, Hemachandra turned his attention to Pramāṇaṣāstra or Tarka–Logic and Dialectics. On this subject, he wrote a work called Pramāṇa-mīmāmsa. In the commentary on the first verse, Hemachandra says "that after the Ṣabdānuṣāsana, the Kāvyānuṣāsana and the Chhandonuṣāsana, Pramāna is being considered now. The identity of the authorship of the Ṣabdānuṣāsana etc. with that of this work is also implied."

From the introduction to the first sūtra, we learn that this work Pramāṇa-mīmāmsā * was to consist of five Adhyāyas, no doubt on the model of the five adhyāyas of Gotam's Nyāya sūtra. But only a fragment

* A critical edition of this work is being prepared by Pt. Sukhlalji to be published in the S. J. S.

of this work has been recovered which extends up to the end of the first Āhnika of the second adhyāya. Either the Āchārya did not live to finish the work, or the remaining portion yet awaits discovery if it is not destroyed. As it is, we have a hundred sūtras and the commentary on them preserved for us.

This work or the fragment of the work is interesting from many points of view. It shows Hemachandra as a logician and a master of the Darṣanas. The work is characterized by his usual lucidity and preciseness of exposition.

The introduction to the first sūtra throws interesting light on the conception of authorship which Hemachandra had. ' The pūrva–paksha asks why does the author pose as a Jaina sūtrakāra ? There were so many sūtrakars before ! Hemachandra answers : "Your question is narrow. Rather ask what and how many were the grammatical and other sūtras before Pāṇini, Pingala, Kaṇāda, Akshapāda and others ?" The opponents' silence is to be understood as allowing that there were many. Then Hemachandra goes on saying " These disciplines (Vidyās) are without a beginning (Anādi); they become new from the point of view of Samkshepa-summarizing and Vistāra-expanding, and are said to be composed by this and that author also from the same point of view." * What Hemachandra

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* ननु यदि भवदीयानीमानि जैनसिद्धान्तसूत्राणि तर्हि भवतः पूर्वं कानि किमीयानि वा तान्यासन्निति । अल्पमिदमन्वयुङ्क्थाः । पाणिनिपिङ्गलकणादाक्षपादादिभ्योऽपि पूर्वं कानि किमीयानि वा व्याकरणादिसूत्राणीत्येतदपि पर्यनुयुङ्क्ष्व । अनादय एवैता विद्याः संक्षेपविस्तारविवक्षया नवनवीभवन्ति, तत्तत्कर्तृकाश्चोच्यन्ते । प्र. मी. pp. 1–2

means is probably this: no author writes anything absolutely new, it is only the development and the treatment that is new. +

We saw, in the review of his literary activity which Hemachandra has given in the praśasti of the T. S. P. C., that the grammar was written at the request of Jayasimha, while the Dvyāṣrayas, the Kāvyānuṣāsana, the Chhaṇdonuṣāsana, and the lexicons and other Ṣāstras (which might include the Pramāṇa-mīmamsā if it was then written) were written for the people. From this reference it is clear that Hemachandra's intention, in this part of his activity, was to serve not merely Jainas but all the people, for the word – lokāya – does not mean "for Jainas" only, but "for people in general." I think the significance of this emphasis of Hemachandra has not been properly grasped by scholars * who say that Hemachandra's intention in composing these works was to provide merely for his correligionists. The public which Hemachandra had, in his view, was, no doubt, wider than his own sect.

Now, we come to discuss the works which Hemachandra wrote at the request of Kumārapāla. Even these works which are sectarian in subject-matter have a wider appeal on account of their easy style and manner of treatment.

+ These remarks of Hemachandra in the P. M. suggest that Hemachandra was probably criticised for claiming to be an author of various works in which he mostly systematized what others had said.

* For example Prof. Jacobi. See his Introduction to the PariŚishṭaparvan p. XXIII B. I. S.

Of these, the main are the Yogaṣāstra, the T. S. P. C. including the Pariṣishṭa-parvan and the Vītarāga-stutis including the two well-known Dvātrimṣikās.

The subject-matter of the Yogaṣāstra is distinctly religious. The whole work consists of twelve Prakāṣas. Yoga is described as the thing that leads to liberation (lit. cause of liberation) and it consists of three jewels – Jnāna (knowledge), Ṣraddhā (faith), and Chāritra (conduct) (v. 15). In this part, Yoga is described in Jaina terminology. The first three Prakāṣas are devoted to ethical rules in Jaina phraseology. In the fourth Prakāṣa soul is identified with the "three jewels" and then follows description of Yoga which embodies the substance of the Yoga-system of Patanjali. The fourth discusses the nature of contemplation, āsanas, etc. The fifth describes the control of breath and the acquisition of miraculous powers. The rest of the prakāṣas are devoted to similar topics.

In the fourth verse of the first prakāṣa, Hema-chandra says "After having acquired knowledge from the ocean of learning, the tradition of sadgüru (the initiator), and one's own experience, the Yoga-ṣāstra is being composed." The same thing is repeated in the fifty-fifth and the last verse of the twelfth prakāṣa, with the additional information that "Āchārya Hemachandra put into language the secret of Yoga at the repeated request of Ṣrī Chālukya Kumārapāla-the king." +

The commentary on the first four prakāṣas is prolix -in the style of Jaina Vyākhyānas or sermons narrating anecdotes, stories, etc.; while on the remaining prakāṣas, it is brief. Probably the commentary is not the work

+Prakāṣa 3, v. 4; Prakāṣa 12, v. 55.

of Hemachandra himself but of one of his pupils. It contains passages from the T. S. P. C. also.

The Trisashti-salākāpurusha-charita + is a huge work composed in ten parvans, and the Parisishta parvan is a sort of appendix to it.

The work is written in an easy flowing style and contains fine descriptions. It has for its model the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. One cannot judge such a huge work by examining minor details, but it should be judged in its total effect.

Prof. Jacobi has carefully examined the Anushṭubh metre as it is used by Hemachandra in this work, and come to the conclusion that Hemachandra 'had used the sloka in a way peculiar to himself' (pp. XXI). But I think the learned professor is a little beside the mark when he says "He (Hemachandra) apparently attempted to facilitate the literary activities of the Jainas by making the Sloka a more handy means of composition than its classical model..." (pp. XXIII). I am inclined to regard the liberty which Hemachandra has taken with the Anushṭubh metre as due to the fact that he was writing this work on the model of the Purāṇas, the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata which have metres which are lose in comparison with those of the later Kāvyas.

The Vītarāga stotra consists of about 186 verses. It is divided into twenty Stavas-(prayers)-most of them having eight verses. *

+ The sixtythree great men include twentyfour Tīrthamkaras, the twelve Chakravartins, the nine Vāsudevas, the nine Baladevas, and the nine Prativāsudevas.

* (1) The Prastāvanā stava (2) The Sahajātiṣaya-varṇanāstava (3) Karmakshayajātiṣayavarṇanā stava

In the last stanza of the Vītarāgastava, Hemachandra says "Let Kumārapāla get the desired fruit from this stava (prayer) of Vītarāga originating from Sri Hemachandra."

These are known also as the "Twenty Vītarāgastutis" which are referred to in the Moharājaparājaya as "Twenty Divyagulikās that is divine pills." These hymns include also the two well-known Dvātrimṣikās or set of thirty two stanzas, the Ayogavyavacchedikā and the Anyayogavyavachchhedikā i. e. 'that in which the author disproves the allegation that Jainism is wrong, and that in which the claims of other systems that they are right' (p. XVIII Introduction Syādvādamanjari" B. S. S.).

These poems are the philosophical hymns of Hemachandra. The poetic diction in them is of a high order and they sometimes rise, in spite of their philosophical preoccupation, to a real poetic grandeur. The following remarks of Principal Anandsankar Dhruv quoted from his learned introduction to the Syādvādamanjarī on the Anyayogavyavacchedikā, more or less apply to all these stutis: "The former (the A. V.) is a genuine devotional lyric, pulsating with reverence for the master and is at the same time a review of

(4) Sukṛtātiṣayavarṇanāprakāṣa (5) Pratihāryastava (6) Vipakshanirāsaprakāṣa (7) Jagat Kartṛtvanirāsaprakāṣa (8) Ekāntanirāsastava (9) Kaliprașamrastava (19) Adbhutastava (11) Achintyamahimastava (12) Vairāgyastava (13) Virodhastava (14) Yogasiddhastava (15) Bhaktistava (16) Ātmagarhāstava (17) Sarvastava (18) Kaṭhorastava (19) Ājnāstava (20) Āṣīhstava.

some of the tenets of the rival schools on which the Jaina sees reason to differ. Devotion and thought are happily blended together in one whole, and are expressed in such noble and dignified language that it deserves to rank as a piece of literature no less than that of philosophy (P. C. XXIV). "

This brief review of Hemachandra's literary work will, I hope, give some idea of the contribution he made to Samskṛta Learning and Literature. It is a very difficult task to give a proper estimate of his work. Only a scholar of Hemachandra's capacity can do it justice. It surely makes one feel that the man who did all this work must have possessed extraordinary intellectual powers – must have been a veritable intellectual giant.

We can divide Hemachandra's work into two parts : Ṣāstric and literary or poetic. We saw that his Ṣāstric activity covered almost the whole field of the then known branches of learning. These works, as we saw, are characterized by clearness of exposition and lucidity and preciseness of expression. They seem to be designed with the practical view of providing excellent and exhaustive books for the purposes of study. They are, however, not remarkable for originality of ideas. *

The following remarks of Prof. Jacobi give a fair estimate of Hemachandra's work : " Hemachandra has very extensive and at the same time accurate knowledge of many branches of Hindu and Jaina learning combined with great literary skill, and an

* Hemachandra has given, his idea of originality (lit novelty) and authorship in the Pramāṇamīmamsā. pp. CCCIV–CCCV.

easy style. His strength lies in encyclopaedical work rather than in original research but the enormous mass of varied information which he gathered from original sources, mostly lost to us, makes his works an inestimable mine for philological and historical research." (Ency. of Religion and Ethics. Vol VI. p.591).

Hemachandra's sastric work has, always, been so much in the fore-front that it has, so to say, monopolized the attention of the students of his work – now and in ancient times; yet a careful study of his poetic works reveals him to be a poet of no mean order. His two Dvyāśrayas, his illustrative verses in the Rayaṇāvali (or the Deṣināmamāla) and the Chhandonuṣāsana, the T. S. P. C. and the devotional hymns, throw a flood of light on his poetic faculty.

Possibly some critics will feel it strange that I should think of associating poetry with the Dvyāṣrayas– which are, in their opinion, merely grammatical exercises. But is it not a peculiarity of poetry that it is sometimes discovered in strange places? Let it be, at once, granted that the language of the S. D. K. is uncouth; it is there on purpose. But once you get accustomed to it and pierce through its forbidding exterior you get genuine epic poetry. The descriptions of the S. D. K. are generally picturesque and realistic, e. g. the description of Aṇahillapura, that of the sudden appearance of monsoon when Karṇa was practising penance, that of the Arbudāchala, etc.. Even the conventional descriptions of seasons, bathing, flower-gathering, etc. in the S. D. K. are more objective and realistic than those found in the recognized Mahākāvyas.

The descriptions of battles,–and there are many–

as I have remarked before, are always full of vigour and realistic without ever approaching the grotesque.

The story of Mayaṇallā is told with a fine touch of emotion; one almost wished, that at least for this portion, Hemachandra might have forgotten his grammar.

The episodes are arranged in such a way as always to maintain interest. The S. D. K. possesses many of the characteristics of a good and vigorous epic but they are all hidden under its uncouth and forbidding exterior. The simile of cocoanut given to Bhāravi's + Kirāta applies more appropriately to the S. D. K. as far as its exterior is concerned, and if not equally, almost equally to its inner substance.

The exterior of the P. D. K. is less uncouth. Its descriptions are good specimens of Prākṛta poetry. Of the poetic worth of the Prākṛta verses put in as illustrations in the Rayaṇāvalī the following remarks of Prof. Banerjee give a correct idea.

"A careful reading of the gāthās ... would lead one to discover sense and highly poetical sense in these gāthās.... In fact these gāthas...form a valuable contribution to Prākṛta lyric poetry at the same time comparable to the Sattasai of Hāla" (p. XLI). "They will be appreciated, it is hoped, by every lover of poetry as a remarkable feat of ingenuity worthy of Hemachandra." (p. LI Introduction.).

A careful and systematic study of the T. S. P. C. will reveal genuine poetic qualities of description, emotion, and story-telling and prove Hemachandra to be a Mahā Kavi.

+ नारिकेलफलसंमितं वचो भारवेः etc. मल्लिनाथ.

The verses placed at the end of every pāda of the S. H. show his vigorous style and mastery in the poetry of the court.

Many of the illustrative verses in the Chhandonuṣāsana in the Saṃskṛta, the Prākṛta and the Apabhramṣa are genuine pieces of lyric poetry. If, as is the opinion of some scholars, most of them are Hemachandra's own compositions, they would show Hemachandra to be a writer of fine muktakas.

We have referred to Hemachandra's devotional hymns and Principal's Dhruva's remarks on one of them.

Thus it would appear that Hemachandra was not only a great writer of Ṣāstras but a writer of good poetry also. He was really a master of Lakshaṇa, Sāhitya and Tarka,-Grammar, Literature and Philosophy.

Let us consider Hemachandra's personality. He had - if the traditional explanation of his name is not, merely, a literary flourish - a bright complexion of golden hue; probably he had an imposing exterior. His works reveal him to be a great savant, an able writer of Ṣāstric works, a good poet. He was a great reformer of public morals - for that was what he achieved through his influence on Siddharāja Jayasimha and Kumārapāla. His prayers show him to be a genuine and thoughtful saint; and an autobiographic reference shows him to be a Yogin. Hemachandra was a genuine devotee of the Omniscient. No doubt, Hemachandra was a great man not only of his age, but of all ages. It may not be altogether irrelevant to say, here, that the Moḍha community of Kathiawar which gave one great man in Hemachandra, has given another great man to the world in Mohandas Karamachand Gandhi.

THE KAVYĀNUṢĀSANA

Hemachandra's aim in composing his various treatises, always, was to achieve completeness of information on their respective subjects. In doing this, he, however, appears to have been influenced by the needs of primary and advanced students. This double purpose was fulfilled by adopting the method of first writing a text-book consisting of sūtras with a commentary on them giving in a systematic and lucid form as much information of the subject as was of primary importance and necessary to give practical proficiency in it. To achieve completeness, he wrote additional commentaries incorporating all the available discussions of the previous writers on the subject treated. These additional commentaries were, of course, intended for advanced students who wanted to be masters of the subject.

The third point that may be noted in this connection is Hemachandra's aim to achieve authenticity in his works. This has made him give the previous discussions on the subject almost in the words of the authors themselves. In order to make his works current and authentic on the subjects which were generally discussed by Brāhmanical writers, it was, probably, thought necessary by this Jaina Āchārya to adopt this method. This procedure, however, has laid him open to the charge of plagiarism and given his works an appearance of compilations. But a careful and a minute study of his works reveals that Hemachandra has always treated his subjects with great

discrimination and definiteness and mentioned the names of authors where he thought that particular contributions were theirs.

A careful study of the S.H. and all the commentaries on it written by the author himself will bear out these remarks ×. A similar study of the Kāvyānuṣāsana confirms them.

The Kāvyānuṣāsana consists of 208 sūtras divided into eight Adhyāyas. The first adhyāya contains 25, the second 59, the third 10, the fourth 9, the fifth 9, the sixth 31, the seventh 52 and the eighth 13 sūtras respectively. In these 208 sūtras, so to say, is concentrated the whole subject of Samskṛta Poetics in all its aspects. This Kāvyānuṣāsana of 208 sūtras is, as the author himself says, 'extended (pratanyate)' in the commentary which is known by the name Alamkārachūdāmaṇi. The name of the Alamkārachūdamaṇi is mentioned in the colophons at the end of all the adhyāyas, but nowhere in the body of the text. This indicates that naming the commentary might have been a later idea.

There is, as we have seen, another commentary which the author, in its first introductory verse calls the "Viveka of the Kāvyānuṣāsana". This, again, indicates that the author looks upon not only the sūtras but the vṛtti (commentary) also as Kāvyānuṣāsana. In the vṛtti, the Kāvyānuṣāsana is said to be 'extended (pratanyate)' while here, the Viveka is said to be 'extended in detail (pra-vi-tanyte).' This is also clear from the first line of the introductory verse where the purpose of writing the Viveka is

× Pandit Bechardas's article on the S- H. previously referred to will be found very useful in such a study.

expressed as 'to explain at certain places what is written and to add something new at certain places.' A study of the Viveka shows that this purpose is carried out properly in it.

The number of quotations given in the Al. C. as illustrations are about 740, as authorities about 67, in all about 807; those in the Viveka, as illustrations about 624; as authorities about 201, in all about 825. Thus the total number of quotations in the Kāvyānuṣāsana is about 1632.

In the Al.C. and the Viveka Hemachandra mentions by name about fifty authors, and about eightyone works. Many of the works named belong to the authors mentioned. In addition to these, I have traced the names of some works from which quotations are taken but whose names are not mentioned by Hemachandra. All these references will be found in indexes of authors and works (pp. 521-526).

This will give an idea of the usefulness of the Kāvyānuṣāsana for the history of Samskṛta Poetics and Literature.

Now, let us see what problems of the Samskṛta Poetics are discussed in the Kāvyānuṣāsana. The first sūtra is devoted as usual to mangala - namaskāra; while the second sūtra, after informing us that the correctness of speech has been discussed by the author in his Ṣabdānuṣāsana, lays down the Ṣāstra-prayojana (the purpose of the treatise) viz:—the poetic aspect of the language. In other words - the author tells us that he is discussing Poetics in the treatise (pp. 1-3).

The third sūtra deals with the abhidheya prayojana that is the purpose of the subject of poetics that is the purpose of poetry. This purpose is laid down by Hemachandra as threefold, viz:—aesthetic pleasure (ānanda), fame (yaṣas), and to be sweetly didactic (Kāntātulyatayā Upadeṣāya). Here it may be noted that Hemachandra has omitted the three additional purposes given by Mammaṭa, viz:—earning of money, knowledge of worldly behaviour (courtly behaviour etc) and the removal of evil (through the mysterious influence of the poetic hymns etc.). The reasons for not accepting these three purposes are succintly given in the Al. C. and more clearly with illustrations in the Viveka (pp. 3–4). This illustrates the method of Hemachandra.

The fourth sūtra gives the 'cause of poetry' (Kāvyasya Kāraṇam) viz:-pratibhā – genius – which is explained in the Al. C. as 'intelligence occupied in imagining new things (nava–navollekha – ṣālinī prajnā)'. Here also Hemachandra differs from Mammaṭa in laying emphasis on the main cause, which according to him is 'pratibhā' or genius while the other causes mentioned by Mammaṭa are regarded as mere accessories by him. This discrimination of what is of primary importance and what is secondary is really an important thing in such a subject as poetics.

In the two sūtras, five and six–this pratibhā (genius) is described in Jaina terminology. The seventh sūtra tells us that this genius is to be trained (lit. polished) by means of the study and the practice of the art. The eighth sūtra mentions the subjects of study which are briefly described in the Al. C. while expounded with illustrations in the Viveka. The ninth and the tenth

sūtras describe the poetic practice which is briefly explained in the Al. C., but in detail with a great number of illustrations in the Viveka (pp. 13–23).

The eleventh sūtra defines the nature of poetry; this definition differs a little from that of Mammaṭa in the place it assigns to alaṃkāra (figurative speech) in the definition; while rare instances of poetic speech without alaṃkāra are included by putting the conjunctive particle 'cha' in the sūtra. In the succeeding sūtras all the terms of the definition are defined and discussed. These terms are – Ṣabda (Word), Artha (Meaning), Dosha (Defect), Guṇa (Merit), and Alaṃkāra (Figurative Speech). The twelfth sūtra gives the general definition of guṇa and dosha with reference to their functions. The thirteenth defines the general nature of Alaṃkāra while the fourteenth describes their utility to Rasa. The sūtras 15–25 define and discuss the nature and relation of Ṣabda and Artha; the last sūtra–the 26th adds Rasa as one of the Vyangya arthas (suggested meanings), the Abhidhā, the Lakshaṇā and the Vyanjanā and the Vyanjanā arthas having been discussed in the previous sūtras. This finishes the first Adhyāya.

The second Adhyāya of the Kāvyānuṣāsana is devoted to Rasa, Bhāva, Rasābhāsa and Bhāvābhāsa and the classification of poetry as first rate, second rate and third rate on the principle of poetic excellence. The first 55 sūtras are devoted to the former subject while the last three are devoted to classification. This subject of classification has been discussed by Mammaṭa in the first Adhyāya which becomes a stumbling block to a student who has not yet understood what poetic excellence is. The discussion of it after Rasa, as in the Kāvyānuṣāsana, is a distinct advantage to the student.

As this sort of classification, in the opinion of Hemachandra, originated with Mammaṭa, his name is mentioned with the quotation of the Kārikās in the Viveka.

The Viveka on this adhyāya extensively quotes from the Bharata Nāṭyaṣāstra as also from the commentary of Abhinavagupta on it. The whole portion discussing Rasa is quoted almost verbatim from Abhinavagupta's commentary.

The third adhyāya, in its ten sūtras, deals with the Doshas. The Al. C. and the Viveka fully discuss the subject. The Viveka, as usual, gives a great number of illustrations and quotes passages from the Kāvya-mīmāmsā of Rājaṣekhara on the subject of Deṣa and Kāla that is Geography and seasons of India. The reason of not mentioning the name of Rājaṣekhara here might be that, in the view of Hemachandra, Rājaṣekhara also might have taken this matter from some other author.

The fourth adhyāya deals with guṇas. In the first sūtra the three guṇas – Mādhurya, Ojas and Prasāda are mentioned. In the Al. C., Hemachandra following Mammaṭa, says that the guṇas are only three and not five or ten. The Viveka on the Ṣūtra is very important as it discusses in detail the views of Bharata, Mangala, Vāmana, Dandin etc. mentioning their names (pp. 274–287). The discussion in the Viveka on the relation of metres and guṇas is interesting (pp. 287–288). The remaining eight sūtras define the three guṇas and discuss how they are related to the quality of the syllables used (pp. 289 – 294).

The fifth adhyāya treats of the six Ṣabdālaṃkāras

which the Viveka enumerates as Anuprāsa, Yamaka, Chitra, Ṣlesha, Vakrokti, and Punaruktābhāsa. Their varieties are also discussed.

The first sūtra defines Anuprāsa while the second distinguishes Lāṭānuprāsa. The third sūtra defines the Yamaka while the fourth says where it is possible. The Al. C. on the fourth sūtra describes and illustrates the varieties of Yamaka. The fifth sūtra defines the Chitra, while the sixth defines Ṣlesha. The seventh sūtra mentions the varieties of Ṣlesha. The eighth sūtra defines Vakrokti while the ninth defines Punaruktābhāsa. Many of the illustrations for the Ṣabdālamkāras are taken from the Devīṣataka of Ānandavardhana, who is mentioned in the Viveka on the fifth sūtra as Noṇasuta Ṣrīmān Ānandavardhana, that is, Ānandavardhana – the son of Noṇa (p. 321). Rudraṭa's Kāvyālamkāra has also been largely drawn upon in this Adhyāya.

The Viveka on the seventh sūtra, while explaining Pāṭhadharmatva (pp.333–336) quotes at length from the Bharata Nātya Ṣāstra–probably from Abhinavagupta's commentary. This passage is interesting from many points of view.

The sixth adhyāya treats of twentynine artha – alamkāras including Samkara. It will be seen that Hemachandra has greatly reduced the number of principal Arthālamkāras, which according to Mammaṭa, are sixtyone in number *. This Hemachandra has

* For the history of the development of Alamkāras see Prof. Jacobi's article 'Bhāmaha and Dandin' in Sitzungberichte der Prussian Academie der Wissenschaften or its translation in the Purāttatva Vol. II pp. 81–89.

done by neglecting minor and unimportant distinctions. He 'includes Samsṛshṭi under Samkara, so defines Dīpaka as to include Tulyayogitā in it, defines a figure Parāvṛtti which contains the Paryāya and Parivṛtti of Mammaṭa, omits all those figures that have a touch of Rasa, Bhāva etc. in them (viz:—Rasavat, Preyas, Ūrjasvi Samāhita), and passes over Ananvaya, Upameyopamā as varieties of Upamā, includes under Nidarshanā the figures Prativastūpamā, Drashṭānta, and Nidarshanā of others. He uses the names Jāti and Anyokti for Svabhāvokti and Aprastutapraṣamsā '. +

The twenty-nine arthālamkāras that Hemachandra discusses in 31 sūtras are enumerated by the Viveka as follows:—

(1) Upamā	(2) Utprekshā	(3) Rūpaka
(4) Nidarṣanā	(5) Dīpaka	(6) Anyokti
(7) Paryāyokti	(8) Atiṣayokti	(9) Ākshepa
(10) Virodha	(11) Sahokti	(12) Samāsokti
(13) Jāti	(14) Vyājastuti	(15) Ṣlesha
(16) Vyatireka	(17) Arthāntaranyāsa	
(18) Sasamdeha	(19) Apahnuti	(20) Parivṛtti
(21) Anumāna	(22) Smṛti	(23) Bhrānti
(24) Vishama	(25) Sama	(26) Samuchhaya
(27) Parisamkhyā	(28) Kāraṇamāla	(29) Saṃkara

The definition of Upamā हृद्यं साधर्म्यमुपमा – that Hemachandra has adopted is different from that of Mammaṭa. He has laid emphasis on the aesthetic element in the definition.

The Viveka, however, mentions and discusses all the alamkāras given by previous writers including Bhoja

+ Kane's Introduction to the Sāhitya Darpaṇa pp. CXIV etc.

the author of the Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhā-bharaṇa, who in that work describes probably the greatest number of Alamkāras. The Viveka shows how some of them are included in the alamkāras of the text and how others are not to be regarded as alamkāras. (pp. 339-405).

The Al. C., after finishing its comment on the thirtyfirst sūtra which defines Samkara, discusses the problem as to why 'this one is called Ṣabdālamkāra and the other one Arthālamkāra.' The answer is that if 'Vaichitraya-charm – of the alamkāra is predominantly due to its Ṣabda, it is to be called a Ṣabdālamkāra while if it is due to Artha, it is to be called Arthālamkāra' (p. 401).

Thus in six adhyāyas (143 sūtras) the whole nature of Kāvya as such is defined and discussed in detail, the subject which Mammaṭa has discussed in ten Ullāsas (212 sutras) of his Kāvyaprakāṣa.

The seventh adhyāya discusses, so to say, the question of characters in a literary work. It describes what is a Nāyaka (hero) (sutra 1), what are his characteristics (guṇas) (sutras (2-10), the four classes of Nāyakas (11), their descriptions (12-19), and what is a pratināyaka-opponent of a hero (20). Then comes the description of the different classes of Nāyikās or heroines (21-23-24-20). The thirtieth sūtra describes the eight states (avasthās) of the Nāyikās viz:— (1) Svādhīnapatikā (2) Proshitabhartṛkā, (3) Khaṇḍitā, (4) Kalahāntaritā (5) Vāsakasajjā (6) Virahotkaṇṭhitā (7) Vipralabdhā and (8) Abhisārikā. The remaining twentytwo sūtras (31-52) are devoted to describing the qualities and the characteristics of women.

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The Viveka on this adhyāya is meagre, probably because what was to be said has been said in the Al. C.

This adhyāya is mainly based upon the Daṣarūpaka of Dhananjaya a literary man of Munja's Court, as also upon the Bharata–Nāṭya–ṣāstra and the commentary of Abhinavagupta (pp. 406 – 431).

The eighth Adhyāya treats of the varieties of poetic compositions (प्रबन्धात्मककाव्यभेद). The first sūtra classifies literary composition into prekshya (to be enjoyed by seeing) and Ṣravya (to be enjoyed by hearing or reading). In the Al. C. is explained what makes a poet whose work (Karmaṇ) is called poetry, and then the authority of Bhaṭṭa Tota on the subject is quoted.

The second sūtra divides prekshya into Pāṭhya (to be recited), and Geya (to be sung). In the third sūtra are mentioned the twelve varieties of Pāṭhya viz: (1) Nāṭaka (2) Prakaraṇa (3) Nāṭīkā (4) Samavakāra (5) Īhāmṛga (6) Ḍima (7) Vyāyoga (8) Utṣrshṭikānka (9) Prahasana (10) Bhāṇa (11) Vīthī and (12) Saṭṭaka.

The Al. C. on this sūtra quotes extensively from the twentieth chapter of the Bharata Nātyaṣāstra (C. S. S.). The Viveka on the same also gives interesting information. Most probably it is based upon the commentary of Abhinavagupta (pp. 432 – 445). Over and above these twelve varieties of recitable plays other varieties such as Toṭaka etc. defined by Kohala and others are also included under the head of pāṭhya (445).

The fourth sūtra mentions the eleven varieties of Geya–prekshya (visual performance which is musical) as– (1) Ḍombikā (2) Bhāṇa (3) Prasthāna (4) Ṣingaka (5) Bhāṇikā (6) Preraṇa (7) Rāmākrīda (8) Hallisaka (9) Rāsaka (10) Ṣrī – gadita (11) Rāgakāvya.

The Al. C. quotes verses explaining the nature of these varieties from some unknown work. Other varieties of geya such as Ṣampā, Chhalita, Dvipadī are also mentioned. We are asked to consult Brahmā, Bharata and Kohala. It might be that the verses quoted in the Al. C. are taken from some work of Kohala. The Viveka gives examples of some of these varieties and also other useful information (pp. 445 – 449). *

The fifth sūtra mentions the five varieties of Ṣravya Kāvya viz:—(1) Mahākāvya (2) Ākhyāyikā (3) Kathā (4) Champū and (5) Anibaddha.

The sixth sūtra defines Mahākāvya. It is mostly in verse and composed either in the Samskṛta, the Prākṛta, the Apabhramṣa or the Grāmya. It is divided into either sarga, āṣavāsa, saṃdhi or avaskandhaka which have their last verses in different metres from the rest. It must have its Samdhis (lit. joints) properly developed and possess charm of language and meaning.

The Al. C. quotes verses from Bharata explaining Samdhis which, it is taken for granted, are the same for the Nāṭaka as for the Mahākāvya. The Viveka gives examples from dramas (p. 449–455). The other terms are also explained in a phraseology which appears to be taken from the Kāvyādarṣa of Daṇḍin, which appears

* We may note, here, that the Nāṭyadarpaṇa of Rāmachandra a pupil of Hemachandra deals with the same subject. It should be studied with this portion of the Kāvyānuṣāsana. The Nāṭyadarpaṇa indicates that Rāmachandra had made excellent use of Hemachandra's great library; for we find in it the names of so many unknown dramas. The late Prof. Sylvian Lévi wrote an article on the subject before the work was published in the G. O. S. The article is translated in the Gujarati in Purātattva, Vol. V. p. 45.

to have been largely drawn upon by the Al. C. in this adhyāya. (See Dandin's Kāvyādarṣa Pari. I vs. 11–36).

The Al. C. and the Viveka mention some poems by name which are otherwise not-known, as e. g. Abdhimanthana as an example of an Apabhramṣa poem, Bhīmakāvya as that of a Grāmya poem, * Hariprabodha as that of a Samskṛta poem divided into Āṣvāsakas (pp. 455 - 462). The seventh and eighth sūtras describe Ākhyāyikā and Kathā respectively. In this matter, Bhāmaha has been followed (See Bhāmaha Alaṃkāra Pari I. vs. 18 – 25–29. See also Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarṣa Pari I. vs. 23–28). The Al. C., in addition to the Harshacharita and the Kādambarī, mentions Līlāvatī as a Padyamayī kathā (story in verse as distinguished from the Kādambarī as a story in prose).

The other varieties of Kathā are explained in the Al. C. with their respective examples. They are Ākhyāna (Govind), Nidarṣanā (Panchatantra, Kuṭṭanimata), Pravahlikā (Cheṭaka), Manthallika (Gorochanā and Anangavatī), Maṇikulyā (Matsyahasita), Parikathā (Ṣūdraka), Khaṇḍakathā (Indumatī), Sakalakathā (Samarāditya – no doubt of Haribhadrasūri) and Bṛhatkathā (Naravāhanadattādi Charita referring to Guṇāḍhya's work). Most of these works are unknown to us.

The ninth sūtra defines Champū while the tenth defines the anibaddha as muktaka etc. This refers to the composition of verses (without the story element or so little of it as to be negligible). The eleventh sūtra tells us that if there is a single verse, it is to

* This Bhīmakāvya might have for its subject matter Bhīma I the grand-father of Siddharāja.

be called a Muktaka, if two verses a Samdānitaka, if three a Viṣesaka, and if four a Kalāpaka. According to the twelfth sūtra a collection of five to fourteen verses is to be called a Kulaka. According to the thirteenth and the last sūtra any collection of good verses – one's own or of other people–is called Koṣa. As an example of Muktaka, the Al. C. mentions the well known muktakas of Amaru. As an example of Koṣa is mentioned the Saptaṣataka (of Hāla), of Samghāta the Vṛndāvana and the Meghadūta, of Samhitā the Yaduvamṣa and the Dilīpavamṣa.

Thus the whole subject matter of Samskṛta poetics in all its aspects is treated in the treatise–the Kāvyānuṣāsana. Not only that, but Hemachandra has tried to be up-to-date in his authorities. There is only one other work which can bear comparison with the Kāvyānuṣāsana in this matter and that is the Sāhityadarpaṇa of Viṣvanātha who wrote his work, in the opinion of Mr. Kane, between 1380 A. C. to 1384 A. C. (Introduction the S. D. p. CXXIII) more than two hundred years after Hemachandra wrote his work.

According to Mr. Kane (in the introduction to the S. D. p. c. XIV) Hemachandra has been quoted by Kumāraswāmin in his commentary named the Ratnāpaṇa on the Pratāparudrayaṣobhūshaṇa of Vidyānātha on pp. 46-47-224-233-259-279-299 of that work (published in the B. S. S.).

Here, I may refer to two remarks of Dr. S. K. De about the Kāvyānuṣāsana of Hemachandra. Dr. De says "As a text book it (i.e. the Kāvyānuṣāsana) hardly supercedes the Kāvyaprakāṣa" (History of Samskṛta Poetics Vol. I p. 203). Now if it were a

question of the relative values of their respective contributions to the literature of Samskṛta Poetics, the superiority of the great Kāvyaprakāṣa of Mammaṭa is undoubted. But I beg to differ from the learned Doctor in his opinion on their relative merits as text books.

What characterizes a good text book is its treatment of the subject matter. It should be so clear as to make it easy to grasp, so graded as to satisfy the needs of different grades of students, so systematic as to reveal the rational character of the subject matter, and it should be sufficiently exhaustive. Now the main thing that characterizes the Kāvyaprakāṣa is its systematic and rational treatment of the subject. But Mammaṭa has tried to be systematic at the cost of clearness. In fact the Kāvyaprakāṣa is one of the most difficult Samskṛta books and in spite of its proverbially innumerable commentaries, * it yet remains a hard nut to crack. In fact the Kāvyaprakāṣa is a laconic work. In his effort to be systematic Mammaṭa has forgotten that there are students less learned than he who are to study his book. The treatment of the subject in the K. P. as far as the essential nature of Kāvya goes, is, no doubt, complete. But a student of Samskṛta poetics will have to consult other works for the study of the different forms of Samskṛta literature. This is another drawback. Judged from this point of view, the superiority of the Kāvyānuṣāsana is, to my mind, undoubted. For, it possesses all the qualities of a good text book mentioned above. If we are asked to point out what is the one merit which the works of Hemachandra possesses above all, we should say that they are excellent text books.

* काव्यप्रकाशस्य कृता गृहे गृहे टीका तथाप्येष तथैव दुर्गमः ॥

The second remark of Dr. S. K. De is that the Kāvyānuṣāsana is merely a Ṣikshā grantha.

I wonder how anybody who has even cursorily gone through the Kāvyānuṣāsana with its Al. C. and Viveka can form such a view of the work. It, no doubt, includes the topic of Kaviṣikshā as it includes many other topics also. But that should not make one regard it as merely a Ṣikshā grantha and classify it as such, as Dr. De has done. In fact the Kāvyānuṣāsana is a work which should take its place with the Kāvyaprakāṣa and the Sāhityadarpaṇa as treating the subject of Samskṛta poetics in all its aspects.

21

CHRONOLOGY OF HEMACHANDRA'S WORKS

As we have seen, Hemachandra, has, himself, indicated the order in which he wrote his works, in the works themselves. He, has, however, no where given exact dates for any of his works; nor we are able to ascertain them from any independent direct source. Dr. Bühler has attempted to assign approximate dates to these works which are, on the whole, correct.

Dr. Bühler, from the reference in the Praṣasti at the end of the S. H. to a pilgrimage, concludes 'that the grammar should have been finished after this time'. He puts the composition of the grammar between the return from Mālava and the end of the pilgrimage – for which he assigns a period of two or three years. The return from Mālava is put by Dr. Bühler in the year V. S. 1194–A. D. 1138 and so he comes to the conclusion that the " Grammar must have been ready, at

the earliest, towards the end of Vikrama year 1197–A. D. 1141 (p. 18).

We have seen, on the authority of the colophons which were not available to Dr. Bühler that the victory over Mālava took place between the last months of V. S. 1191 and the first months of V. S. 1192–A. D. 1135–36. Accepting the interval of two or three years which Dr. Bühler assumes we may place the completion of the grammar at the earliest, towards the end of the Vikrama year 1195–A. D. 1139.

In the opinion of Dr. Bühler, both the Koṣas were completed before Jayasimha's death (p. 18), so also the first fourteen cantos of the S. D. K. (p. 19). The whole poem in its present form, however, cannot have been completed before V. S. 1220–A.D.1164 (p. 19). The Kāvyānuṣāsana and the Chhandonuṣāsana were probably written in the beginning of the rule of Kumārapāla (pp. 19 – 36). Dr. Bühler, however, is not correct in assuming that there are no "compliments to the king in the illustrations of the C. S. (p 36); for, as we have seen, both Jayasimha and Kumārapāla have been praised in the Chhandonuṣāsana; especially the latter. There are about four references to Jayasimha and about fortynine to other Chālukya kings, most of which refer to Kumārapāla who is mentioned under his own name (e. g. pp. 4, 14, 16 etc.), as the son Siddharāja–meaning of course, successor to Siddharāja (pp. 11, 12, 14 etc.), and also as a descendent of Bhīma (p. 4. etc.).

To the early part of Kumārapāla's reign belong also numerous supplements to both the great Samskṛta Koṣas and the text of Rayaṇāvali, or Deṣināmamālā. To

the supplements belong, first of all, the Seshākhya Nāmamāla which purports to complete the Abhidhāna-chinātmaṇi and which contains, particularly, extracts from Yādavaprakāṣa's Vaijayantī (p. 36). The three Nighaṇṭus – according to the tradition Hemachandra wrote six of them – also belong to this period. The commentary with illustrative verses on the Rayaṇāvalī, Dr. Bühler puts about the years V. S. 1214–1215= A. D. 1159 (p. 37). The text of the Yoga-Ṣāstra as also that of the Vītarāgastotra were probably written shortly after V. S. 1216 – A. D. 1160. The commentary, on the other hand, was probably completed a few years later (p. 40).

The composition of the T. S. P. C. is placed by Dr. Bühler, between V. S. 1216 and 1229–A. D. 1160–1173. The last five cantos of the Samskṛta Dvyāṣraya Kāvya and the P. D. K. or Kumāravālachariya as it is called also belong to this period. ' The commentary on the Abhidhānachintāmaṇi was probably the last of the scholarly works of this late period. The fact, that in this commentary both the Y. S. and the T. S. P. C. are cited, proves not only that it belongs to the period after V. S. 1216–A. D. 1160, but also that it was written during the last years of the author's life ' (p. 49). As a further proof of this late date, Dr. Bühler adduces the fact that the commentary of the Anekārthakoṣa was written by Hemachandra's pupil Mahendrasūri who wrote it in his master's name after the death of the latter (Hemachandra) (p. 49).

The Pramāṇamīmāmsā, according to Dr. Bühler's opinion, also belongs to the works of the period of V. S. 1216–1229-A. D. 1160–1173 (p. 49).

Here, I may draw attention to the fact that in the Abhidhānachintāmaṇi itself, which we have placed in the last years of Jayasimha's reign, Kumārapāla is mentioned by name and described as Chālukya, Rājarshi, Paramārhata, Mṛta – sva – mokta (one who has given up the confiscation of the wealth of the dead), Dharmātmā and Mārivyasanavāraka (preventor of the vice of killing) (A. C. V. 3 v. 376 – 377). This would indicate that this work also belongs to the latter part of Kumārapāla's reign. But on other grounds, which Dr. Bühler has discussed, it will be better to regard this verse as an addition in a revised edition of the A. C. There is ample proof in the works of Hemachandra, that he himself later on revised some of his works and added new material to them in course of revision. The process of perfecting the works must have continued to the very end of his life.

Akshayatṛtiya, V. S. 1992.
24th April, 1936.

Rasiklal C. Parikh

Corrections & Additions

Page	*Line*	*Incorrect*	*Correct*
XXI	30	Far	For
XXVI	24	one	one of
XXXVII	32	His on	His son
XLIII	29	Traikurakas	Traikuṭakas
LX	top	L	LX
LXVIII	29	not	note
CLVII	1	not not	not
CLX	14	Sampatrkara	Sampatkara
CLXVI	top	CL	CLXVI
CLXVIII	32	Devasted	Devastated
CLXXI	18	Ahd	And
CLXXIV	14	is a how	is how
CXC	top	CLXC	CXC
CCI	29		Add footnote + + Hemachandra in the T. S. P. C. Parvan X M.Charita C. 12 vs. 45–46 gives the date 1669 years after Vīranirvāṇa = V. S. 1199.
CCXXXI	25	Kings	Things
CCIXL	17	Coy–boys	Cow–boys
CCLX	14	Vey	Very

KĀVYĀNUṢĀSANA

Vol. II

[*Part II*]

NOTES

by

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PREFACE

My friend Mr. Rasiklal Parikh has ably shown in his introduction, what unique position Hema-chandra occupies among the galaxy of writers on Sanskrit poetics. His present work काव्यानुशासन is by far one of the most comprehensive works in the whole of Sanskrit literature on poetics. The critical acumen and profound scholarship that he has shown in his विवेक is, simply staggering. He has a thorough grasp of his subject and has given glimpses of his originality in the said commentary.

I have tried my best to explain the text of काव्यानुशासन clearly in my notes. I have written these notes especially with a view to help the students of Sanskrit poetics in the Arts Colleges of to-day.

I have tried in these notes to remove almost every textual difficulty and have offered explanations of the difficult points in the text, as far as possible, with the help of विवेक. I must, however, own that I have only partially handled the vast material treasured by the author in his विवेक—for the very simple reason that I was afraid of increasing the bulk of the present volume.

I shall feel my labour amply rewarded if the students of the present work find it easy to understand the text clearly with the help of my notes.

My special thanks are due to Mr. Motichand G. Kapadia B. A.; LL. B. Solicitor Bombay, honorary Secretary Shri Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya Bombay—for the opportunity that he has offered to me of writing upon a subject so important and interesting to the students of Indian Culture.

Maharashtra Society
Ahmedabad, 25th June, 1936

R. B. Athavle

CONTENTS

Notes.

ADHYĀYA I.

While writing the present work, Hemchandra had clearly before him ancient works on poetics especially काव्यप्रकाश of मम्मट. Works like काव्यप्रकाश start with कारिकाs, that is, verses usually in अनुष्टुम् or आर्या metre. These कारिकाs are almost versified Sutras and are pregnant with deep meaning. In order to explain clearly these pithy verses (कारिकाs), generally an author himself writes a commentary thereon. Thus the कारिकाs along with its commentary form the text of the work.

In the present work, Hemchandra has adopted the same method. He first writes a कारिका and then explains the meaning of that कारिका, himself. But this explanation, the author does not feel to be quite adequate. He, therefore, has written another commentary, this time thoroughly exhaustive, furnished with detailed discussions and illustrations that explain the text most clearly. He has given the name of विवेक to this bulky commentary.

Lay readers and college students are not expected to go through this विवेक of Hemchandra. We have therefore availed ourselves of the rich material in this विवेक and have tried to explain the body of the text with the aid of विवेक.

In the verse "प्रणम्य परमात्मानम्" Hemchandra says that he writes काव्यानुशासन for the pleasure of the learned in the field of poetics. In the introductory verse, Hem. has tendered his obeisance to the supreme soul. But not being satisfied with this verse, he writes another

verse evidently as a benedictory verse. It need not be stated that मङ्गलाचरण is a peculiar feature of Indian works. Every work must have a benedictory verse, otherwise, the work, as the popular superstition is, would hardly see its completion without any obstacles. This मङ्गलाचरण, then, is the convention (समय) of the respectable men in the society (शिष्ट). The deity that is the object of this obeisance or salutation differs according to the subject matter of every work or according to the peculiar religious tenet of an author. In the following verse "अकृत्रिमस्वादुपदाम्" etc. Hemchandra has observed this convention and offered his salutations to the language of जिन (जैनी वाक्). The word जिन means 'a conqueror' and was applied as an honorific term to महावीर, the founder of Jain religion. जैनी वाक् or the language of जिन is अर्धमागधी—a subdivision of the प्राकृत language. अर्धमागधी is the language or rather a प्राकृत dialect in which महावीर preached his jain doctrines to his audience. It is quite in the fitness of things that, Hemachandra, who was a renownded Jain preacher, should show his deep reverence for अर्धमागधी, the language of the sacred books of the jains. अर्धमागधी, according to Hem., is sanctified by महावीर with his acceptance of it.

Translation:—We meditate upon अर्धमागधी, the language of जिन–the language, in which every word is full of natural sweetness (or can be easily understood even by dull persons because it is free from artificiality) [अकृत्रिमस्वादुपदाम्], the language which expresses the very essence of things or points to the supreme bliss (परमार्थाभिधायिनीम्) and which assumes the forms of various other languages.

*P = Page of the Sanskṛta text, A = Adhyāya, S = Sūtra.

Our author explains the phrase अकृत्रिमस्वादुपदाम् in two ways. He seems to prefer the second interpretation. He thinks that अर्धमागधी is specially of very great use to children, women and dull persons, for this reason that the profound, religious principles are propounded by महावीर in it, for the sake of easy understanding.

But this description of अर्धमागधी that it is full of sweetness would equally apply to musical compositions or the like. To exclude these, therefore, Hem. says that अर्धमागधी is परमार्थाभिधायिनीम् ie it leads to final beatitude— not directly of course but by stating the four fold division of things which is as follows:—(i) चरणकरण. The whole of Jain religion is based on three things (otherwise called the three gems)—सम्यक्ज्ञान (right knowledge) सम्यक्दर्शन (right faith) and सम्यक्चारित्र (right conduct). This right conduct is here said to be 'चरणकरण which becomes right only when it is accompanied by right knowledge and right faith. चरणकरण leads to मोक्ष (absolution), which according to the Jains, consists in complete freedom from every sort of कर्म (action.)

The second division is द्रव्य which deals with the true nature of a thing or substance (सत्) which according to the Jains has the three characteristics उत्पाद (birth), व्यय (decay) and ध्रौव्य (stationariness). True nature of things, therefore, we know by studying this division of द्रव्य.

The third division is गणित. By studying गणित we know about the life of every being–the eclipses of the sun and the moon and various other things. गणित, therefore, is indirectly useful to us in attaing absolution.

The fourth division is धर्मकथा which deals with the lives of the saints, preachers and तीर्थंकरs (pioneers of

Jain religion.) Their lives are a standing inspiration to the seekers of absolution, hence धर्मकथा leads indirectly to final beatitude. The adjective परमार्थाभिधायिनी, therefore, is peculiarly appropriate with regard to अर्धमागधी.

सर्वभाषापरिणता is also an adjective of अर्धमागधी (जैनीवाक्). According to Hemchandra, अर्धमागधी was the only language at the beginning of creation. In course of time, however, this Divine language transformed itself into various languages according as it was used by gods, men, barbarians and lower animals. In support of his statement, Hem. quotes the verse " देवा दैवीं " etc. which means: the gods used this अर्धमागधी, but then it was called the language of the gods and others.

As the rain water falling from the clouds is of only one nature, but when it is mixed with the water of a river it is transformed into river-water and assumes a different characteristic, in the same manner, अर्धमागधी originally only one language, assumes different names when it is used by different persons or beings.

It will be seen that this statement of Hem. is philologically quite unsound. It merely speaks of the highest estimation in which the author held अर्धमागधी, which according to him has miraculous powers.

अनुयोग means division. प्रेक्षावत् learned man. Why should the readers feel any inclination to read this work ? To this, the answer of our author is as follows:—

Verse 2:—We have fully explained the nature of correct speech in our work " शब्दानुशासन ", now in the present work we are going to treat the subject of what is poetry or what is called poetic speech.

The work in which हेमचन्द्र treats of grammar is named by him as सिद्धहेम. Therein he has distinguished

correct words from incorrect words. That work serves as a ground-work to the present work. In the present work, हेमचन्द्र has not even touched the subject of grammar and has merely referred his readers to सिद्धहेम obviously because, he, being the author of both these books, does not find any necessity of repeating what he has already said elsewhere. To discuss the nature of poetry then, is the object of the present work. The subject-matter is poetry. But what is the aim of poetry ? To this हेमचन्द्र's answer is as follows:—

Sutra 3 : The object or aim of poetry is joy, fame and advice like that of a wife.

Poetry is the extraordinary creation of a poet (लोकोत्तरं कविकर्म) which the author explains as follows:— ' when a poet is informed with the spirit of poetic imagination, he is able to describe things in the most graphic way. The creation of the poet, under the influence of this प्रतिभा is called a poem (काव्य). The list of the aims of poetry as are here mentioned by हेमचन्द्र reminds one of a similar but more exhaustive list, (given by मम्मट in his काव्यप्रकाश) which runs as follows:—

काव्यं यशसेऽर्थकृते व्यवहारविदे शिवेतरक्षतये ।
सद्यः परनिर्वृतये कान्तासंमिततयोपदेशयुजे ॥

The aims of poetry are : fame (in most cases) money, competency in everyday life, protection from evil influences, immediate supreme joy; and advice after the manner of a wife. It will be clearly seen that हेमचन्द्र has given prominence to supreme joy as the most important motive of poetry and rightly so. मम्मट's list seems to us to be a bundle of aims good, bad and indifferent. It is a list of aims of poetry that are found in the generality of poets. The aims that

are actually found to be cherished by different poets are mentioned by मम्मट, while हेमचन्द्र seems to place before the readers a list of aims that should be cherished as noble ones by all the poets. The former is practical, the latter is ideal. भामह in his काव्यालंकार states the following as the aims of poetry:

धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणां वैचक्षण्यं कलासु च
करोति कीर्ति प्रीतिं च साधुकाव्यनिबन्धनम् (ch. 1/2)

Compared to this also, the list of हेमचन्द्र appears to be more appropriate—evidently because he has assigned the highest place to the aim of 'Supreme joy,' as he says distinctly : सर्वप्रयोजनोपनिषद्भूतं कविसहृदययोः काव्यप्रयोजनम्. भोजदेव in his सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरण pithily remarks : काव्यं रसवत्कविः कुर्वन् कीर्त्तिं प्रीतिं च विन्दति. In fact the ideal aims of poetry must be only प्रीति (ie supreme joy) कीर्ति, (fame) and उपदेश (delightful but) effective advice.

विश्वनाथ in his साहित्यदर्पण says:—चतुर्वर्गफलप्राप्तिः सुखादल्पधियामपि। काव्यादेव ॥ सा० द० १/२

हेमचन्द्र next defines this supreme joy (सद्योरसास्वादजन्मा etc). as one that springs from enjoying a sentiment in a poem, a joy in which the mind forgets every other thing, and which is similar to the joy of self realization. This joy, then, is the highest aim of poetry (सर्वप्रयोजनोपनिषद्भूत) and may be felt both by the poet as well as the reader, (हेमचन्द्र in his विवेक distinctly remarks that यश (fame) and व्युत्पत्ति (knowledge) are aims that are inferior to this aim of 'supreme joy'). यश however is the sole monopoly of the poet. It cannot be shared by the readers.

In the following passage begining with प्रभुतुल्येभ्यः the author explains as to how काव्य differs from Vedas, Puranas and other kinds of literature. The whole passage

has almost literally been copied from मम्मट's काव्यप्रकाश. Next to the aim of supreme joy, the aim of 'delightful advice' is also very important. In fact it can be said to be the main characteristic of a poem. The Vedas command like a master who says 'Thou shalt or shalt not do this. They are thus never delightful. In Vedas the very words have acquired a sort of sanctity and admit of no change. In Puranas, advice is tendered, after the fashion of a friend, in a friendly manner but it is advice after all. It is the import of the advice given, that really matters. Thus शब्द is all-in-all, in Vedas. अर्थ is a predominant thing in पुराण's; but in काव्य there is no direct advice given—either in a peremptory tone or in a direct way. In काव्य, sentiment (रस) reigns supreme. शब्द and अर्थ play a subordinate part to रस. The advice (if at all given) is given in such a sweetly indirect manner—after the fashion of a wife trying to give some sort of advice to her husband, advice given with winning gestures, in sweet delightful words possessing an insidious charm. The reader in the end, knows what he is expected to know and never feels the bluntness of direct advice. The reader must be of course a man of soft emotion. For such a reader सहृदय is the word used by हेमचन्द्र. In his विवेक he defines the word सहृदय as a man, who has the capacity to idenity himself with the subject-matter of a poem. In support of his statement हेमचन्द्र quotes from हृदयदर्पण the lines. " शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य " etc. which have the same import as the passage of हेमचन्द्र explained above.

In this connection, हेमचन्द्र in his विवेक has started an interesting discussion. He says there are poems in Sanskrit which have distinctly an immoral tone. For

instance the verse "वये बाल्ये डिम्भान्" etc. (see विवेक for the whole verse) Are such verses in any sense of the term didactic or capable of conveying any sound advice to the readers? The answer to this question as given by हेमचन्द्र is this:— 'True. These verses are frankly immoral in their tone–but only outwardly. The inner object of the poets in writing such verses is really to disuade their readers from acting in the way shown in the verses. Unless one knows what a morally objectionable thing means, one cannot be asked to refrain from doing such a thing. Hence even such verses must be said to contain an element of advice in them.

In the passage "धनमनैकान्तिक etc." हेमचन्द्र rightly criticizes मम्मट and others of kindred opinion, for holding that wealth, shrewdness in everyday life, and freedom from disease or any other mishap are also the objects of writing a poem. He says that these and other objects are not peculiar to poetry only, for a man may obtain wealth not only by writing a poem but by other means also; wisdom in everyday affairs can be secured not by poetry alone but from any other competent work such as अर्थशास्त्र of चाणक्य; and freedom from any evil or disease can be brought about not only by means of our reading or writing a poem but also by some religious performance, or by uttering some sacred मन्त्र. we cannot, therefore, say that only a poem (काव्य) is written with the objects of wealth etc. Another fine interpretation of the word अनैकांतिक is given by हेमचन्द्र. He says काव्य that is not necessarily written with the objects such as wealth, freedom from disease etc. for it is not quite certain that काव्य may bring about wealth etc. either to the poet or the

reader. In fact it is universally acknowledged that poets are proverbially poor. These objects can, therefore, be summarily dismissed as अनैकान्तिक (i. e. not definite) thus:—(1) because wealth and other things can be secured in other ways (2) because wealth and other things may not be necessarily secured from poetry.

Now हेमचन्द्र starts the question ' what is the root cause of poetry–from what does it spring ? The answer of हेमचन्द्र is explicit. He says:—

Sutra 4th :—The (main) cause of poetry is vivid imagination or bright conception.

प्रतिभा is defined by हेमचन्द्र as a genius which has the characteristic of creating new things. This then is the main cause of poetry. That learning and study merely enhance the power of genius will be proved later on.

According to मम्मट the cause of poetry is:—

शक्तिर्निपुणता लोकशास्त्रकाव्याद्यवेक्षणात् ।
काव्यज्ञशिक्षयाभ्यास (इति हेतुस्तदुद्भवे) ॥ काव्यप्रकाश १–३

The power of poetic genius, cleverness acquired by reading other poetic works and works on other subjects, and by a deep observation of things around and a practice of versifying under a competent person—all these combined are the cause of poetry. Here it should be noted that प्रतिभा is considered by मम्मट to be indispensable—it should be, of course, accompanied by other things. जगन्नाथ, on the other hand, says that प्रतिभा is the only cause of poetry but says that प्रतिभा is either the gift of God or of a great man, or it may be acquired by profound learning or by constant application.

भामह fully agrees with the advocates of प्रतिभा as being the sole cause of poetry; when he says:—

'काव्यं तु जायते जातु कस्यचित्प्रतिभावतः' भामह १-५

Altogether then, there are three schools holding different views as regards the cause of poetry:—

(1) प्रतिभा or genius is the sole cause of poetry— हेमचन्द्र and भामह belong to this school.

(2) जगन्नाथ thinks that though प्रतिभा is the sole cause of poetry, it can be acquired even by profound learning and study.

(3) मम्मट holds that (प्रतिभा) genius along with cleverness and practice is the cause of poetry.

दण्डी in his काव्यादर्श has anticipated मम्मट in holding that the combination of प्रतिभा, व्युत्पत्ति and अभ्यास is the root of cause of poetry.

नैसर्गिकी च प्रतिभा श्रुतं च बहु निर्मलम्। अमन्दश्चाभियोगोऽस्याः कारणं काव्यसंपदः।

राजशेखर who says "व्युत्पत्तिप्रतिभे इति यायावरीयः" agrees with मम्मट in holding both deep observation and genius as essential for poetry.

प्रतिभा according to हेमचन्द्र is of two kinds:— (1) Natural and (2) Conditional or depending for its birth on external causes. Out of these kinds the first is:—

5th सूत्रः—सहजा (natural) प्रतिभा manifests itself when the obstacles which impede its course are totally removed; and when future obstacles are nipped in the bud or removed beforehand. The sun is a self-luminous celestial body, but when clouds screen its light, it can not shine; when, however, the clouds and other such obstacles are removed, the sun shines with its native lustre; similarly, when the obstacles (such as ज्ञानावरण—one that obstructs knowledge and others) are totally removed and when there is no further possibility of any obstruction, the native genius manifests itself. There is no necessity of any charms

or incantations for the birth of such a genius. This is suggested by the word मात्र in the Sutra.

The words आवरण, क्षय and उपशम are technical terms used in Jain works in the sense of obstructions, total destruction and checking respectively.

हेमचन्द्र here alludes to the गणधरs (the disciples of महावीर) as men of genius who composed द्वादशाङ्गी (the sacred works of Jain religion), on the strength of this natural genius. सूत्र 6th:—(2) Artificial or conditional प्रतिभा can be had by muttering the words of sacred works or mystic incantation.

The only difference between natural and conditional genius is that while in both क्षय and उपशम are necessary for the mainfestation of genius, in the former these (क्षय and उपशम) take place naturally, while in the latter they are brought about by मन्त्र, देवता etc.

Sutra 7th:—Now this two-fold प्रतिभा is rendered brighter or more powerful by व्युत्पत्ति and अभ्यास (that is proficiency and application.)

These two—(व्युत्पत्ति and अभ्यास) cleverness and study are never the direct causes of प्रतिभा but they only enhance the power of प्रतिभा; for without poetic genius cleverness and study are totally useless.

In the 8th Sutra our author defines the word व्युत्पत्ति as the proficiency in काव्य (poetry), all sciences and in all things concerning the world around us.

व्युत्पत्ति comprises under it a wide range of knowledge of humanity as a whole, and observation of human nature and of the vast world around us (both animate and inanimate).

व्युत्पत्ति also means profound learning and extensive reading of manifold branches of literature such as

grammar prosody, lexicons, Vedas and other similar works, history, logic, dramaturgy, Erotics, Economics, Systems of Yoga and poems composed by great poets.

This, then, is the staggering range of knowledge which—according to हेमचन्द्र—is to be traversed by a poet-aspirant ! In his विवेक, हेमचन्द्र quotes, in this reference, the following verse:—

न स शब्दो न तद्वाच्यं न स न्यायो न सा कला।
जायते यन्न काव्याङ्गमहो भारो गुरुः कवेः॥

There is not a single word, or a thing or a clever adage or an art—that cannot be pressed into service for writing a poem. Infinitely heavy is the task of a poet ! !

In his विवेक Hem. gives a host of illustrations as to how various poets have utilised, in their own poems, their knowledge of different arts, sciences and human nature. We do not, however, suppose that those poets were really proficient in those various arts and sciences as हेमचन्द्र would have us believe. For instance, when the author of रत्नावली describes the sleight-of-hand or इन्द्रजाल, it never means that the author was really adept in black art. Mere reference of an art does not prove proficiency in that particular art, for such references can be made even by laymen as well. The purport of हेम. (in giving a series of illustrations), therefore, seems to be this that a poet should be a keen observer of men and things in this world and should press into his service the impressions of these things in his mind for enriching his composition.

There is another point in हेमचन्द्र's insistence on a poets' acquiring an insight into human nature and things in general. He says:—(लोकादिनिपुणता etc.) if a

poets' genius is refined by such a vast range of knowledge, he would never describe things in a way which is absurd and inconsistent with the real nature of those things. For instance, if in describing spring a poet says that there are पारिजात flowers everywhere in spring, it will be absurd and contrary to the state of things in nature, for पारिजात flowers are seen in abundance only in rainy season. A poet, in short, must be a man of minute observation and an eminently practical man; otherwise his poem is sure to be a butt of ridicule.

Almost all noted writers on Rhetorics have discussed this point and emphasised on the paramount importance of 'a sense of propriety' as they call it. क्षेमेन्द्र, in his औचित्यविचारचर्चा, has, exhaustively and in a masterly manner, dealt with this subject, and freely pointed out various lapses or blunders of Sanskrit poets—even of the great poets like कालिदास and भवभूति—due to their lack of this sense of propriety.

राजशेखर, in his काव्यमीमांसा (8th chapter), has given similar illustrations to show how poets in their poems make use of their knowledge of various subjects.

जगन्नाथ, in his रसगंगाधर, has also casually referred to this sense of propriety which has to be strictly observed by the poets (Vide रसगंगाधर नि. सा. p. 50/51); says he " अनौचित्यं तु रसभङ्गहेतुत्वात्परिहरणीयम्। भङ्गश्च पानकादिरसादौ सिकतादिनिपातजनितेवारुन्तुदता। तच्च जातिदेशकालवर्णाश्रमवयोवस्था प्रकृतिव्यवहारादेः प्रपञ्चजातस्य तस्य यल्लोकशास्त्रसिद्धमुचितद्रव्यगुणक्रियादि तद्भेदः।

In the ninth Sutra हेम. emphasises the necessity of constant practice in writing poems under the guidance of either a great poet or a Rhetorician or both.

The word काव्यविद् has been interpreted by हेमचन्द्र

in two ways: काव्यं वेत्ति and काव्यं विन्ते one who composes a poem or one who is a critic of poetry. Under the instructions of such a man a poet-aspirant should constantly practice. For, genius is sharpened by practice and becomes as it were a कामधेनु (wish--yielding divine cow) in yielding the nectar of a poem (काव्यामृत).

हेमचन्द्र here quotes a passage in support of his emphasis on practice:—

" अभ्यासो हि कौशलम् etc. " It means:—It is the practice alone that brings about a skill in anything.

' True ease in writing comes from art not chance'. as the English poet would have it. One drop of water, alone, cannot wear out a stone.'

मम्मट also, in his काव्यप्रकाश, emphasizes on this point by saying ' काव्यज्ञशिक्षयाभ्यास '. हेमचन्द्र closely follows मम्मट in this respect.

The best discussion on this point is found in वाग्भटालंङ्कार in which the author has, in a detailed manner, given instructions as to how a poet-aspirant should proceed gradually with his study of composing poems.

In the following discussion, हेमचन्द्र has very closely followed राजशेखर and has copiously drawn upon the eleventh and the twelth chapter of काव्यमीमांसा.

What a poet-aspirant should do, is to keep before him the poems of great poets as models and try to imitate them in a skilful manner.

A peculiar feature of Sanskrit poetry is its poetic convention. राजशेखर in his काव्यमीमांसा defines poetic convention (or कविसमय) as follows:—

" अशास्त्रीयमलौकिकमर्थंच परम्परायातं यमर्थमुपनिबध्नन्ति कवयः स कविसमयः" (का० मी० 14th chapter) poetic convention describes things neither accepted to be such by the शास्त्रs nor

found in everyday life. It accepts some things merely handed down by tradition and rejects some things though found in everyday life. This acceptance and rejection of things merely on the strength of tradition is four–fold:—(1) with regard to जाति ie. class (2) with regard to गुण ie. quality (3) with regard to some action (4) with regard to some particular thing (द्रव्य).

Now this poetic convention deals with these four-fold things (जातिद्रव्यगुणक्रिया) in three ways:—

Sutra 10th (1) सतोऽप्यनिबन्धः—Some things that actually exist in a particular place or at a particular time are supposed by poetic convention as not existing. For instance:—In spring mâlati flowers are actually seen blooming; but the poetic convention regards these flowers as not at all existing in spring ! Sandal trees have got flowers but a poetic convention would have us believe that they never exist ! This then is the अनिबन्ध ie. not describing some things as existing even when they do exist.

For detailed illustrations Vide काव्यमीमांसा (Ch. XIV)

(2) असतोऽपिनिबन्धनम् Every river has not necessarily lotuses in it. But a poetic convention allows the poets to describe every river as abounding in lotuses ! To a poetic fancy every reservoir of water is full of swans and every mountain is treasured with gold ! Describing, therefore, things which are not actually found in a certain place is असतोऽपि निबन्धनम्.

नियमः—Some things, or some creatures are generally found everywhere. For instance, crocodiles are found in rivers as well as in seas, but a poetic convention restricts their habitation to seas only. Pearls are found

in many places, but according to the poetic convention they are found only in the river ताम्रपर्णी.

This is a नियम ie. restricting a thing to a particular place.

All these poetic conventions should first be thoroughly understood by a poet and then observed in his poem. Now it is impossible for a new poet who studies the poems of his predecessors not to borrow, consciously or unconsciously, words, phrases, some lines or sometimes even ideas from them. Such borrowing, when unconscious, is of course not culpable. But even conscious borrowing is, in certain cases, not blameworthy. Says राजशेखर:—

" नास्त्यचौरः कविजनो, नास्त्यचौरो वणिग्जनः ।
स नन्दति विना वाच्यं यो जानाति निगूहितुम् " (का० मी० ११).

The generality of poets is prone to borrowing. A poet may, with impunity, borrow from other poets provided the borrowing (or stealing as राजशेखर says) is done in such a clever manner as not to incur the censure of the reading public.

According to अवन्तिसुन्दरी (as quoted by हेमचन्द्र in his विवेक) a poet, who is thoroughly conscious of his own superior genius or is a man of established reputation, may freely borrow even the poem of a poet-aster and sometimes from illustrious poets of the past. To quote the words of A. G. Gardiner:—

"Shakespeare can take his 'borrowed plumes' from whatever humble bird he likes...These Gods are beyond the range of our pettifogging 'meums and tuums.' Their pockets are so rich that a few coins that do not belong to them are no matter either way. But if you are a man of exiguous talents and endeavour

to eke out your poverty from the property of others, you will discover that plagiarism is a capital offence and that the punishment is for life. In literature —whatever case may be in life—there is one law for the rich and another for the poor and that in the captain is but a choleric word which in the soldier is flat blasphemy."

The safe rule for a poet—aspirant is, therefore, to imitate the words or ideas of his predecessors in the manner of (i) प्रतिबिम्ब a reflection or (ii) आलेख्यप्रख्य a picture, (iii) तुल्यदेहितुल्य a person appearing exactly similar to another person or lastly (iv) a person entering a foreign town (परपुरप्रवेशसदृशः). All these varieties come under the head of छाया (counter-part). We shall take each of these varieties one by one:—

(1) प्रतिबिम्बकल्पनः—In this the poet—aspirant has an idea of his predecessor faithfully reflected in his own poem. (For illustration see विवेक). राजशेखर defines प्रतिबिम्बकल्प as follows:—

" अर्थः सएव " etc. (का. मी.) which means:—

" The meaning is almost the same. Only the sentences and words differ. " In modern parlance this means ' poetic paraphrase. '

(2) आलेख्यप्रख्य is defined by राजशेखर thus:—

" क्रियताऽपि यत्र संस्कारकर्मणा वस्तु भिन्नवद्भाति ।
तत् कथितमर्थचतुरैरालेख्यप्रख्यमिति काव्यम् ॥ "

When a certain idea of a poem is borrowed by another poet in his poem with only a slight change, the latter's poem is called आलेख्यप्रख्य—' just like a picture.'

(3) The third manner of imitation is तुल्यदेहितुल्यतया which राजशेखर defines as follows:—

3

विषयस्य यत्र भेदेऽप्यभेदबुद्धिर्नितान्तसादृश्यात् ।
तत्तुल्यदेहितुल्यं काव्यं बध्नन्ति सुधियोऽपि ॥

When two poems have their subjects different from each other, but in other respects they are closely similar to each other (in point of phraseology etc.), the latter poem is called तुल्यदेहितुल्य.

(4) परपुरप्रवेशप्रतिम kind of imitation is defined by राजशेखर as "मूलैक्यं यत्र भवेत्परिकरबन्धस्तु दूरतोऽनेकः"

In this kind the idea or the subject-matter of two poems is the same but the manner of putting it is entirely different.

In addition to the above mentioned ways of borrowing or imitation, there are other ways such as:—

(1) Borrowing a word or (2) a line or (3) two lines (4) three lines (5) a fraction of a word etc. Borrowing all the four lines of others' poems is obviously a plagiarism of the first magnitude and should never be resorted to. The word यथौचित्यम् used by हेमचन्द्र is significant. Even while borrowing, there is a sense of propriety which should be always observed by a poet-aspirant.

The practice of composing should be extended to समस्यापूरण and such other things. समस्या is completing a verse when only one line is given. Sometimes even two or three lines, apparently without any sense, are given, and the fourth line is to be added to it in a manner in which all the four lines appear as one homogeneous whole giving proper sense. This is the most difficult variety of समस्या. Almost all the varieties of समस्या are illustrated by हेमचन्द्र in his विवेक.

From "तत्रसतोऽपि सामान्यस्य" up to "कामस्य मूर्तत्त्वममूर्तत्त्व-चेत्यादि" हेमचन्द्र, in the body of the text, gives a fairly

long list of the poetic conventions that are to be observed by poets. We have already explained the nature and kinds of these conventions. हेमचन्द्र, however, goes into details and gives various illustrations. Some of the conventions appear proper and natural but others are really fanciful. For instance: darkness is supposed to be मुष्टिग्राह्य 'that can be caught in the palm of one's hand' or it can be perforated through, with a needle.

The word नियम in the 10th Sutra is interpreted by हेमचन्द्र in two ways:—(1) restriction of a thing to a particular place or time-for instance cuckoos, are supposed to warble only in spring. This sense has been explained and illustrated above. (2) नियम is nothing but a peculiar variety of poetic convention in which, some things though different from one another are considered as identical. eg: the colours dark and green, yellow and red are supposed to be identical.

The hare and the deer in the moon are identical, crocodiles and fish are one and the same, in their relation with the God of love; the moon born of the ocean is the same as the one born of अत्रि. Goddess of wealth and Goddess of beauty are identical. नाग and सर्प (cobras and serpents), all the different seas and oceans, and all the epithets of demons are identical.

Eyes are supposed to have various colours. The moon on the crest of the God Shiva is supposed to be ever young! The God of love is both corporeal and incorporeal etc.

For almost everyone of these poetic conventions, हेमचन्द्र gives some illustration in his विवेक.

The aim of poetry has been explained above. Now comes the definition of poetry:—

Sutra II:—Poetry consists of " words and sense, both combined, which are free from faults, are full of excellences; and have in them figures of speech. The word, च in the सूत्र signifies that poetry is possible, sometimes, even in the absence of a figure of speech.

Thus we see that हेमचन्द्र in his definition of poetry literally follows मम्मट. In Sanskrit poetics the definition of poetry forms a veritable battle-ground. With utmost subtlety and hair-splitting distinctions, every rhetorician has come forward to justify his own definition of poetry and to reject the definitions of others. To us, however, three definitions of poetry appear noteworthy. The first is that of मम्मट who defines poetry as ' तददोषौ शब्दार्थौ सगुणावनलंकृती पुनःक्वापि '. This has been almost literally accepted by our author.

Another definition of poetry, as given by विश्वनाथ in his साहित्यदर्पण, is equally noteworthy. It is " वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यम् " A sentence full of sentiment (रस) is poetry.

The third definition of poetry as given by जगन्नाथ in his रसगंगाधर runs thus—" रमणीयार्थप्रतिपादकःशब्दःकाव्यम् ". All these definitions, in reality, do not differ as regards the main features of poetry which are: (1) words and sense constitute poetry. (2) The sense must have a charm about it.

That the charm is of the highest kind when it is born of some रस (sentiment) is admitted by मम्मट as well as जगन्नाथ, though they have not said so explicity. विश्वनाथ has given a supreme place to रस in a pronounced manner. All, however, agree in accepting a poem,

even without any distinct रस, as coming under the head of poetry; otherwise, a ban shall have to be placed on a bulk of poetical literature—which has distinctly a charm in it but has not necessarily in it any predominant sentiment. This, to us, appears to be a serious objection to the definition of विश्वनाथ (वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यम्). It is idle to compare all these three definitions and try to accept one of them and reject others, for all agree eventually in suggesting that Poetry (1) as far as possible should be free from faults. (2) must be endowed with excellences (गुण). (3) should have, as a rule, figures of speech. (4) should have, as a rule, some sort of Sentiment.

Even a poem, with no figure of speech, can be legitimately called poetry. For instance the verse:—

" शून्यं वासगृहं विलोक्य " etc. This verse is from अमरुशतक. " Seeing that the bed-chamber had perfect privacy, the new bride slowly rose from her bed, leisurely surveyed the face of her husband who had made a pretext of sleeping, and heartily kissed him; (but) seeing his cheeks thrilling with joy, she hung down her head blushingly. Thereupon her lover kissed her lingeringly.

In the 12th Sutra हेमचन्द्र defines गुण and दोष (excellences and faults). Excellences and faults are those attributes of रस which are the direct causes of heightening and marring respectively the effect of a रस (sentiment). They are, considered as attributes of words and sense only in a secondary sense. (उपचार means the secondary sense). The relation of रस on the one hand and गुणदोष on the other, is that of a thing and its attributes. That गुणदोष are the

attributes of रस and not शब्दार्थ can be proved by the method of अन्वय and व्यतिरेक thus:—First, it is clear that गुण and दोष both dwell in one and the same place. Now faults dwell in a particular sentiment only—and not in word and sense—otherwise that fault would be a fault at all times and never an excellence; but it is not so. Sometimes a fault in one sentiment actually becomes a point of excellence in another रस. For instance, in बीभत्सरस, the faults such as कष्टत्व (cumbrousness) and others are actually considered as excellences. Similarly, obscenity (अश्लीलत्व) and other faults are turned into excellences in हास्य and other sentiments. Obviously, therefore, these faults are not dependent upon, or attributes of, word and sense. These faults have no permanent character. Where there is a रस there are the attendant faults; when that रस is absent, the faults also go away. Thus there is an invariable concomitance between रस and दोष and consequently between रस and गुण.

अन्वय and व्यतिरेक are 'यद्भावे यद्भावः यदभावे यदभावः' A statement of the constant and invariable concomitance between हेतु and साध्य is (अन्वय) and an assertion of the concomitance of the absence of साध्य and an absence of हेतु is व्यतिरेक.

In Sutra 13th, figures of speech are defined:—

Figures of speech are dependent upon word and sense which are the अङ्ग of a रस (the अङ्गी). अङ्गी is the principal thing and अङ्गs are its subordinate parts. As a rule, figures of speech lend charm to रस; sometimes, however they do not serve the purpose of lending any charm to a रस. When the principal thing (ie. रस) is absent, these figures merely serve the

purpose of rendering the words and sense picturesque and beautiful.

हेमचन्द्र has drawn a nice distinction between गुण and अलंकार. गुणs (excellences) are the attributes of a रस (the अङ्गिन्) and figures are the embellishments of words and sense-(the अङ्ग ie. body). It is habitual with Sanskrit poets to describe poetry by employing a grand metaphor : Poetry is a person (rather a female person). रस is his soul. Word and sense constitute his body. Excellences are the inner qualities of his soul, (ie. रस) but as these excellences as well as faults are manifested through the body (ie. word and sense) only, they are, in a secondary sense, said to belong to this body (ie. word and body). Figures are ornaments of the body of this person It is quite clear that these ornaments solely rest upon the body and have nothing to do with the soul of the person. Sometimes, however, as the bravery or other such qualities of a person are beautifully indicated by the peculiar warrior-like attire of the person, similarly, figures of speech serve as a happy indication of the inner sentiment. If the figures, however, do not heighten the effect of रस, they should, as a rule, not be employed at all. Even if these figures are taken out from a poem, they do not at all mar the charm of that poem.

हेमचन्द्र, in his विवेक, quotes examples showing that the figures, even if taken out of a verse, do not at all spoil it.

Sutra 14:—A figure of speech should always be employed only at the proper time and only at a place where they are agreeable to a sentiment.

A figure should neither be detrimental to a रस nor should it be there in the verse without any obvious purpose.

The following verse taken from the first act of शाकुंतल illustrates as to how a figure of speech serves the purpose of heightening the effect of a रस.

The verse is addressed to the bee that molested शकुंतला by hovering round her face. The meaning of the verse is:—"You are touching frequently her eyest hat are tremulous and the corners of which are moving; you are humming softly, while hovering, near her ears–as if to communicate some secret; you are drinking the (nectar of her) nether lip-(the treasure of love), though she is warding you off with her hands. Thus you alone are blessed, Oh bee! while I am undone seeking, as I am, the truth of things.

Here the figure of speech is स्वभावोक्ति, as it faithfully delineates the characteristics of a bee. It heightens the effect of शृंगाररस which is predominant in the verse. The bee is conceived to be, as it were, a lover of शकुंतला, on account of its various movements strikingly similar to those of a lover.

In the following verse 'स्रस्तःस्रग्दामशोभाम्' etc. the predominant sentiment is शृंगार, but its effect is completely marred by the figure उत्प्रेक्षा with its auxiliary figure अर्थश्लेष.

" While this girl is sporting, regardless of the twisting of her waste which is bending on account of the weight of her breasts, her beautiful tresses, all dishevelled through sheer pain as it were, throw away the beautifully arranged wreaths of flowers. Intoxicated as she is while sporting, the anklets attached

to her feet are doubly jingling. The necklace of pearls, tossed in disorder owing to repeated palpitations of her heart, is striking ceaselessly against her breast.

Here the word पीडयेव (through sheer pain as it were) gives rise to उत्प्रेक्षा. This उत्प्रेक्षा is rendered more beautiful by its auxiliary figure of अर्थश्लेष which gives in addition to its first sense a second sense to the words आकुलः(bewildered) क्रन्दतः(crying) व्यस्तः(distorted) हन्ति (strikes mercilessly) and मध्यभङ्ग (breaking of the waste.)

No doubt these two figures are excellently worked out, but they are out of place here. The predominant sentiment here is शृङ्गार as the graceful sporting of रत्नावली inspires a feeling of love in the mind of the hero. But the अर्थश्लेष along with the उत्प्रेक्षा(through pain, as it were) creates an atmosphere of pathos (करुण) and as such is highly detrimental to the present sentiment (शृङ्गार) of love.

The following verse means:—

" Who is this (girl) painted in a picture that enters my mind like a female swan entering the lake मानस ? This girl is eclipsing the Goddess of beauty with her grace and is showing a great regard for me. (The female swan also shakes gracefully the lotuses in the manasa lake and flutters her wings excessively.)"

This is said by the king वत्सराज—(the hero in रत्नावली) who had the feeling of love created in his mind by the sight of the picture of सागरिका painted on a picture-board. Evidently the sentiment of love does not seem to be predominantly expressed in this verse. The king seems to be more desirous of describing

सागरिका with the help of the figures of speech (here उपमा and श्लेष) than of distinctly expressing his love for सागरिका. The love-sentiment, therefore, in this verse, is absolutely feeble—rather subordinated to the two prominent figures of speech. In this, therefore, the figures do not promote the desired रस (शृङ्गार)

The following verse ' उद्दामोत्कलिका ' is from रत्नावली. the king वत्सराज had given a challenge to the queen वासवदत्ता that the माधवी creeper that he had planted, would flower earlier than the creeper नवमालिका planted by the queen. In this challenge, the king emerged victorious with the help of सागरिका, whom he loved secretly. Here in this verse the king is thinking of the feelings that the news of this discomfiture of the queen as well as his own success is likely to produce in the mind of the queen. He says " This माधवी creeper, accompanied by the मदन tree appears like a rival love-lorn lady (समदना) in that it has a plenitude of buds on it [the lady also is full of yearning (उत्कलिका)]; it has a whitish colour on it (the lady, also, is pale); it has begun to bloom all at once (the lady yawns at every moment) it is rudely shaken by incessant gusts of wind (the lady also betrays her languor with her perpetual sighs). Thus the garden-creeper appearing like a rival lady in love—when viewed by me (in the presence of queen)—will, undoubtedly, render her face purple with anger.

Here the simile of a rival (love-lorn) lady turns, in course of time, to be an actual fact, for सागरिका, in course of time, becomes a rival of the queen and the queen actually burns with indignation, when the king surveys सागरिका lovingly in the presence

of the queen. The prominent sentiment in this verse is ईर्ष्याविप्रलम्भशृङ्गार(seperation in love due to jealously) which though not directly seen in the verse, is clearly brought to the fore-front by the figures उपमा and श्लेष. These figures, therefore, are favourable to this रस.

But in the following verse 'वाताहारतया' etc. the figure of speech ill agrees with the dominant रस. The verse means:—" The whole world has been completely brought to ruin by the serpents with their inhalings on account of their subsisting upon wind (because they have taken the vow of taking nothing but wind as their food); these serpents, in their turn, are devoured by the peacocks who have taken the austere vow of drinking only the drops of rain. These peacocks, again, are killed by the hunters who clad themselves with the rough skin of चमूरु deer (who wear the sacred deer skin). This cunning world desires to see merits (in men) although it knows perfectly well the workings of hypocrisy.

Here the poet seems to be disgusted with the ways of the world in that it is full of men who outwardly show themselves to be very pious (observing all sorts of religious vows) but in reality are always bent upon ruining others. The predominant feeling in this verse, therefore, is निर्वेद (disgust). And the figure अतिशयोक्ति is employed as a handmaid to that feeling. But the types of hypocrites—the serpent, the peacock and the hunter,—ought to have been given in ascending order of the austerity of the vow. That is to say, वाताहार is the most difficult of all the three vows, that, therefore, ought to have been put last. But instead, it has been put first. Thus in the verse, the atmosphere

of शान्तरस is neither maintained nor intensified by the types of hypocrites shown by the figure अतिशयोक्ति. It, therefore, ill agrees with the present रस and mars its effect.

This अतिशयोक्ति is, therefore, said to be अनवसरे गृहीता introduced at an inopportune moment.

दम्भप्रकर्षप्रभावतिरस्कृत etc:—The निर्वेद here lies in bewailing for the series of merits that are repressed by the power of rank hypocricy.

Now comes an illustration of a figure introduced but abruptly withdrawn (or set aside) in order to make room for another figure that directly heightens the effect of the predominant रस.

रक्तस्त्वम् etc.:—राम, grieved at the seperation of सीता, addresses this to an अशोक tree:—

You are रक्त (red) with new leaves; I am also रक्त (i. e. enamoured) of the praiseworthy merits of my beloved; शिलीमुख (bees) shot from the 'bow of cupid' (i. e. the flowers) come to you, my friend! शिलीमुख (arrows) shot from the bow of cupid, also come to me. A kick of a beautiful woman is a matter of joy to you, as the kick of my beloved is a matter of joy to me. In every respect Oh अशोक! we closely resemble each other. The only of point of difference is that I am full of grief(सशोक), while you are without grief (अशोक).

Here the figure श्लेष introduced in the first line has been withdrawn in the third line to give room to व्यतिरेक which heightens the विप्रलम्भशृङ्गाररस the sentiment of love (in seperation) which is the predominant रस in this verse.

Such an introduction of a figure and its abrupt

withdrawal is permissible if this renders some service to (the sentiment) रस.

The following verse is from राजशेखर's बालरामायण in which king जनक at the time of सीता's marriage, condemns रावण who had offered himself as one of the suitors. जनक says:—" His (i. e. रावण's) command obeyed (liter. is fond of) by the crest-jewel of Indra; his novel eye in the form of शास्त्रs (all the sciences); his devotion to शंकर, the Lord of all creatures; his capital—the magnificent city of लंका; his birth in the line of the creator—(all these points compel us to say that)—indeed, such a bride-groom cannot be (easily) found. Oh! would that he were not रावण ! (the harasser of the whole world); but then, to find all merits together in one man—well, that is an impossibility. Here the figure अर्थान्तरन्यास (general proposition) in the words क्व नु पुनः सर्वत्र सर्वे गुणाः ' ought never to have been introduced, but the verse ought to have ended with the words एष न रावणः The point is that जनक regards all the best qualities of रावण (which may perhaps entitle him to be called a धर्मवीर —a hero in religion—when taken in themselves) as utterly useless and worthless simply because he is the torturer of this world. These excellences in a person, impious and harasser of mankind, are not worth the name. The quality of being a रावण (harasser of the word) condemns रावण once for all. Thus the utter condemnation of रावण is the main point. Now the question ' Is it possible that all merits are found in one man ? ' is utterly out of place; here the question may be taken in the sense of raising a doubt or objecting to what is said before or laying down a general proposition; in any case the words क्व नु पुनः

etc. go entirely against the spirit of the poem. They, in no way, can prove रावण to be a धर्मवीर (a hero in religion.)

Sometimes a figure of speech slightly introduced is at once cut short to maintain the effect of a रस in a verse. Thus in the verse "कोपात्कोमल" etc. which means:—

"Blessed is the lover who, while hiding his extra-amours and laughing in his sleeves is actually beaten by his beloved who is all in tears; first she indignantly binds him tightly by the noose in the form of her creeper-like arms delicate and trembling; then she takes him to her bed-chamber in the evening and there in the presence of her dear friends refers to his misdemeanour in sweetly indistinct and faltering words thus: "no such rascality again." The metaphor बाहुलतिकापाश (the noose of the creeper-like arms) is fortunately cut short. Otherwise (as विवेक says) if it would have been developed fully, perhaps the beloved would have been identified with a female hunter, and the bed-chamber with a cage! Thus the full metaphor would have strangled to death the present शृङ्गाररस in the verse. अनिर्व्यूढ=not developed, cut short. In the following verse, a figure developed fully has suppressed the रस, present in the verse.

The verse (10) is from भास's स्वप्नवासवदत्ता. It means:—

She (the heroine), the thief of my heart, has entered the house of my body by breaking open, with the stroke of her beautiful form, the door of my eyes that have the panels of eye-lids.

Here it would have been better if the poet would have stopped at the partial metaphor of नयनद्वार. But by fully expanding the metaphor, he has spoiled the effect of the present रस.

As a rule, even if a figure is fully developed it should be subordinated to the present रस. Then alone the figure is said to be agreeable to the present sentiment. This is illustrated in the following verse (11th) from कालिदास's मेघदूतः—" I fancy your limbs in the creeper प्रियङ्गु; your glances in the look of the frightened female deer; the beauty of your cheeks in the moon; your tresses of hair in the plumage of peacocks; the graceful movements of your eye-brows in the ripples of rivers. Alas ! nowhere, however, is there any likeness of yours in all respects at one place, Oh timid one !

In this verse the figure उत्प्रेक्षा, which consists in fancying the limbs in the creepers and other things on the strength of resemblance, is not only introduced but substained throughout the verse; yet being subordinated to the principle sentiment of विप्रलम्भशृङ्गार it is permissible.

Here the reading भीरु is more appropriate than the reading चण्डि found elsewhere as shown by हेमचन्द्र in his विवेक. A timid person is afraid of storing at one place all the precious things in his possession and hence, out of fear, distributes them at different places through fear of their being stolen.

But such development is not permissible as for instance in the following verse (12th) which means:—

" One of the twenty eyes of रावण is bent, another is contracted, a third is eager; a fourth is smiling; the fifth is full of significance; the sixth is half-closed; the seventh is turned back; the eighth is having a long-range; the ninth is full of joy; the tenth is contracted like a bud; the eleventh is trembling; the twelfth is steady; the thirteenth is rolling; the fourteenth is moving

to its corner; the fifteenth is dilated; the sixteenth is drooping; the seventeenth is full of wave-like movements; the last three are full of tears. Thus, owing to some particular condition every eye is working in a different way.

Here the figure स्वभावोक्ति faithfully describes the different workings of all the eyes, but it, in no way, enhances the effect of the predominant sentiment.

From the following Sutras the discussion, of the various sorts of senses attributed to words, is taken up; हेमचन्द्र in the fifteenth Sutra enumerates four types of words as follows:—there are four kinds of words (1) directly expressing; (2) similar; (3) indicative; (4) suggestive; corresponding to four kinds of senses of words viz (i) expressed (ii) similar (iii) indicated (iv) suggested.

Here it will be noted that हेमचन्द्र mentions four kinds of words and correspondingly four kinds of senses instead of the usual three-fold division of words and senses as made by almost all the rhetoricians of note, ancient and modern, such as मम्मट विश्वनाथ and others. All these mention only three kinds of words and correspondingly three kinds of senses and put गौणि as a subdivision of लक्ष्यार्थ. Why हेमचन्द्र should mention —गौणार्थ (sense based on resemblance) as seperate from लक्ष्यार्थ, is not very clear.

In the following sutra (16th) हेमचन्द्र defines "the expressed sense" thus:—

"Where the convention gives directly a certain sense—that sense is said to be "expressed"; for instance, the word मुख conveys the idea of 'a face' directly and prior to any other sense such as hands, feet and others, all at once expresses the sense of a face. Such an

expressed sense is accepted with reference to Universal (जाति), qualities (गुण), things (द्रव्य), and actions (क्रिया); and a word which expresses such a sense is called मुख्य or वाचक word. For instance—गौः is (जाति), शुक्ल is a गुण (a quality), चलति is an action (क्रिया) and देवदत्त is a proper name or a thing (द्रव्य).

Here, हेमचन्द्र quotes with approval पतंजलि the author of महाभाष्यः—" Four-fold is the power of words (signifying correspondingly four senses).

हेमचन्द्र is unwilling to pursue any longer the discussion of what जाति is for the simple reason that it is not directly useful to the present subject.

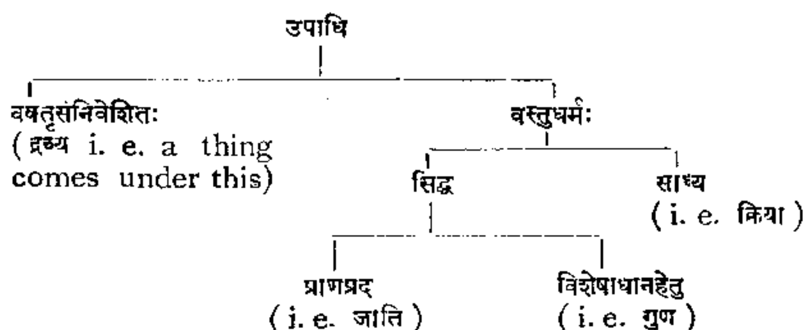
मम्मट and others have made a hair-splitting discussion about the true nature of जाति, about whether a word signifies जाति or व्यक्ति or both or any other thing. But हेमचन्द्र merely mentions different opinions on the point thus:—

(1) a word signifies always the Universal (जाति).

(2) a word signifies both the object and its property or in other words both the particular and the Universal.

(3) a word (according to बौद्धs) does not directly refer to any object but merely denotes the absence of other objects.

In this and the following discussion of लक्षणा and व्यञ्जना, हेमचन्द्र has literally followed मम्मट and copied, almost verbatum passages after passages from मम्मट's काव्यप्रकाश. In his विवेक, however, हेमचन्द्र has supplemented what he has omitted in his text. For instance, he says that every word has an उपाधि; and has classified उपाधि into two kinds thus:—



In the 17th Sutra हेमचन्द्र defines the गौण (word and sense) Where the expressed meaning is set aside entirely (as it does not suit the purpose or does not agree with the context) and another meaning is taken instead on the strength of similarity, for the purpose of conveying the sense of identification of the two senses—the original and the super-imposed—the super-imposed sense is called गौणार्थ and the word conveying the sense is said to be गौण. For instance in गौर्वाहीकः or गौरेवायम् the direct meaning of the word गौ: (a bull) when applied to वाहीक becomes manifestly in--appropriate, and on the evidence of direct perception has to be set aside. Then some other meaning of the word गौ: has to be conceived on the strength of simirity of qualities such as stupidity and dullness (जाड्य and मान्द्य). Now what is the object of this round-about way of calling a वाहीक (a low-class person) a गौ: ? वाहीक means liter. an inhabitant of Punjab; the people of वाहीक were considered by the ancients as impure aud profane. The object is to show सादृश्य i. e. similarity between a bull and the वाहीक, nay more—to show their identification. The identification is of course not real, but super-imposed and is two-fold:—(i) complete identification in which only गौ: remains, and (ii) partial

identification in which both गौः and वाहीक are present, but their seperateness is not manifest. As this qualitative indicatory meaning (गौणार्थ) comes from qualities or गुण it is called गौणार्थ. The word also is said to be गौण or उपचरित. The first sort of गौणीलक्षणा or गौणार्थ gives rise to the figure रूपक in which विषय and विषयी (eg. वाहीक and गौः) are both present. The second sort gives rise to रूपकातिशयोक्ति. In गौर्वाहीकः, वाहीक is विषय and corresponds to उपमेय in the figure उपमा; and गौः is विषयी or उपमान. Now both these words are in the same case, stand in apposition to each other and are identified in meaning. In this context, however, the original sense of the word गौः goes away; the गौणार्थ is super-imposed on this word. The original sense of this गौण word is called वाच्यार्थ or मुख्यार्थ. After setting it aside, the indicated meaning is super-imposed on it. Now the question arises:—What is the indicated sense here ? On this matter, there are three different views:—

(1) The qualities जाड्य and मान्द्य stupidity and slowness (residing in गौः) are indicated; for they are the attributes of गौः—this serves as a निमित्त or the relation between the two things गौः and वाहीक.

(2) The qualities of stupidity and slowness (residing in वाहीक) form the indicated sense here.

(3) वाहीक is the indicated sense of the word गौः.

According to the सामानाधिकरण्य (relation of apposition) and identification, the third view is proper and is, therefore, accepted by मम्मट and others.

Other instances of relations other than resemblance are given in the paragraph "सम्बन्धे कार्यकारण भावे etc: These are some of the relations between a primary sense and an indicated sense:—

(1) The relation of cause and effect:—eg. आयुर्घृतम् (here the object is to show that ghee alone and none else is conducive to longevity); here the identification is partial, but in आयुरेवेदम् the identification is complete and suggests that ghee, invariably, prolongs life.

(2) A thing identified with a person for whom it is intended. eg. इन्द्रः means a pillar raised in honour of Indra.

(3) Relation of a master and a servant. eg. राजा means an officer of a king; similarly, ग्रामः—the head of a town.

(4) The relation of limbs and the body or a limb and its parts. eg. हस्तः fore-part of the arm.

(5) Thing measured and the measure, eg. आढकोव्रीहिः an आढक of rice.

(6) The relation of a thing with the thing applied to it eg. रक्तः पटः a piece of cloth with some red thing applied to it.

(7) The relation of a profession eg. तक्षा a carpenter who is not so by birth but by profession.

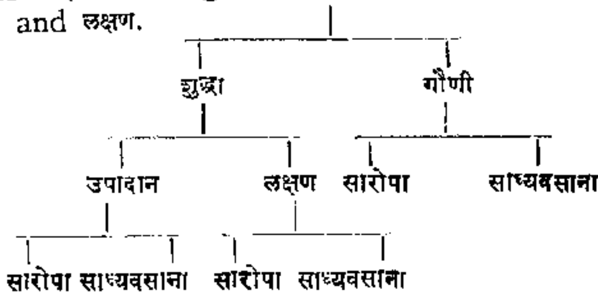
(8) Ironical sense eg. A handsome looking man-with regard to a man who is ugly.

Sutra 18th defines लक्ष्यार्थ thus:—

The indicated sense must be connected with the original sense (or in other words the original and the super-imposed senses must have a relation between them); there must be a (supposed) complete identification between the two senses. Now in गौणार्थ there is both a partial and a complete identification between the original and the snper-imposed sense, while in लक्ष्यार्थ only complete identification is intended. This is the only point of difference between गौणार्थ and लक्ष्यार्थ. The word giving rise to this लक्ष्यार्थ is called a लक्षक word.

The stock instances given by almost all the rhetoricians of note are given by हेमचन्द्र below:— गङ्गायां घोषः (a herd-station on the Ganges) is an instance in point. कुन्ताः प्रविशन्ति (spears enter) is another stock instance. Here it is absurd to say that a cow-pen of a village stands on the surface of the Ganges. The original or expressed sense of the word गङ्गा, therefore, must be set aside. Similarly spears, of their own accord, can not enter; the original sense of the word कुन्त (spear), therefore, must be set aside. Then on the strength of the relation of nearness and association respectively the senses of 'the bank of the river Ganges' and 'persons with spears in hand' must be taken as indicated; now what is the object of this round-about process ? The object in the case of गङ्गायां घोषः is to show that the village is sacred, cool and so on, owing to the vicinity of the holy river Ganges; and in the case of कुन्ता प्रविशन्ति the object is to show the fierceness of the persons with spears in their hands. If this लक्ष्यार्थ or indicated sense would have not been resorted to, simple sentences such as गङ्गातटे घोषः and कुन्तधारिणः पुरुषाः प्रविशन्ति would have been used; but then the purpose of suggesting sacredness and fierceness would never been served.

मम्मट's classification of लक्षणा is sixfold. He first divides लक्षणा into शुद्धा and गौणी and divides शुद्धा into उपादान and लक्षण.



Again both these into सारोपा and साध्यवसाना each. गौणी is only two-fold–सारोपा and साध्यवसाना.

According to हेमचन्द्र, first of all, लक्षणा is two-fold गौणी and ordinary. गौणी again is two-fold सारोपा and साध्यवसाना while लक्ष्यार्थ has got no subdivisions. In all, therefore, there are three kinds of लक्ष्यार्थ. This, however, seems to us as not a very happy classification. If हेमचन्द्र wanted to divide लक्षणा thus for the sake of brevity, it would have been better if he would have divided लक्षणा into गौणी and शुद्धा while गौणी again into सारोपा and साध्यवसाना. Thus his लक्षणा would have been three-fold. Such a classification would have been more logical and less cumbrous than that of मम्मट.

In the passage गौरनुबन्ध्यः etc. the author proves that गौरनुबन्ध्यः and sentences of kindred nature can not be cited as instances of लक्षणा for this reason :—

Here if we take गौः in the sense of the class of cows (जाति) the action of अनुबन्ध् ie. killing will not at all be possible; for जाति by itself cannot do any action. In order to make the sense congruous, we have to add to the class of cows (the meaning of the word गौः) the additional meaning 'a particular individual' on this ground that owing to the invariable concomitance between a class and its individuals, the class includes in itself an individual as well. There is no need of using a seperate word for the particular individual. It may be said that even without the process of inclusion one can express even in its primary meaning the senses of both the class and the individual. To this हेमचन्द्र on the authority of वाक्यपदीय says: "No, primary meaning has no power to express both a thing and its attributes. Here, for instance, the word गो has its

power exhausted (क्षीणशक्ति) in expressing the meaning of 'a class of cows' (विशेषणे), it can not, therefore, extend its sense upto 'a particular cow' (विशेष्य=a thing).

Besides, लक्षणा is not possible in such cases, for there is no 'object or inner purpose' of this लक्षणा. Therefore, this is purely a case of an inclusion of additional meaning (आक्षेप) as a matter of course. If simply on the ground of invariable concomitance, (अविनाभाव) you bring in लक्षणा instead of the simple process of inclusion, all such sentences or words as प्रविश पिण्डी etc. will be instances of लक्षणा. For unless we add the word गृह to प्रविश, the sense will not be complete. Similarly, पिण्डी (date-fruits) by itself would mean nothing, unless we add to it the word भक्षय. In all these cases, the simple process of 'inclusion' would serve the purpose. There is no necessity of resorting to the ponderous process of लक्षणा. Even in the sentence "पीनो देवदत्तः दिवा न भुंक्ते---fat देवदत्त does not eat anything by day—we have to suppose on the strength of implication (अर्थापत्ति) that he must be eating by night. Here also there is no need of लक्षणा.

This far हेमचन्द्र closely follows मम्मट; but in one point he radically differs from मम्मट. While मम्मट divides लक्षणा into रूढा and प्रयोजनवती (रूढा=sanctioned by usage, eg. कुशल, द्विरेफ (a bee), द्विक (a crow) काक, and प्रयोजनवती= having some inner suggestion), हेमचन्द्र does not recognise रूढिलक्षणा at all, but maintains that all the instances of रूढिलक्षणा are instances of primary meaning (वाच्यार्थ).

According to हेमचन्द्र, गौणार्थ occurs there, where one thing is super-imposed on another; the word उपचर्यते means "concealing the apprehension of difference between two things that are altogether distinct, on the

strength of some relation between them." In other cases it is लक्ष्यार्थ.

In the 19th Sutra, ध्वनि kind of sense is defined thus:—ध्वनि sense is that which is suggested (व्यङ्ग्य) but which nevertheless is distinctly apprehended (प्रतीयमानः) and which is other than the primary and the indicated sense. It is so called by the ancient savants because it is sounded or shown from afar, not directly expressed.

This ध्वनि, as विवेक explains, is two-fold. लौकिक (ordinary) and अलौकिक (extra-ordinary): लौकिक that which can be expressed in words) again is divided into अविचित्र (not picturesque) and विचित्र (picturesque). अविचित्र is some bare statement which is suggested, and विचित्र is one in which generally some figure of speech is suggested. These two varieties विचित्र and अविचित्र, though as a rule suggested, sometimes are so transparent that they are said to be capable of being expressed in words. But अलौकिक is such as can never be expressed in words. This is called (sentiment) रस.

All these varieties of ध्वनि are compared by the author of ध्वन्यालोक to the loveliness in the limbs of a beautiful woman, which is such that it cannot be pointed out as something concrete, but is, nevertheless, distinctly felt by the observers. ध्वनि is then threefold:— वस्तुध्वनि, अलंकारध्वनि and रसध्वनि. वस्तुध्वनि has a semblance of direct or primary sense but in reality it can be proved to be altogether different from the primary sense, for, sometimes this suggested sense is diametrically opposed to the primary sense, as for instance in the following verse, भ्रम धार्मिक etc. which means:—Oh you religious-minded person! now you can wander here freely; for that (well-known) dog has been killed by that (much-talked of) wild

lion who dwells in a thicket of creepers on the banks of the river Godavari.

A wanton woman had her secret amours with her paramour on the banks of Godavari; but a religious-minded person frequently visited the place in order to collect flowers for worshipping God and this was a standing nuisance to that woman. Now the woman knew well that the man was afraid of dogs—he was so timid. So with the real object of stopping his visits to the place but outwardly with a view to encourage his visits, the woman addresses the man in this verse.

Though the cause of his fear (i. e. the dog) is removed by the lion, the lion himself is more dreadful than the dog. The woman is, therefore, pretty sure that the man would never return after hearing the news of the wild lion and thus she could indulge in her amours unhampered.

Here, in this verse, " do wander freely " is the expressed or primary meaning but the suggested sense is: " Do not visit this place any more. If you will, you will do so at your peril. " The वाच्यार्थ and व्यङ्ग्यार्थ, therefore, are here diametrically opposite: The primary sense (वाच्य) is विधि (permissive) while the suggested sense is prohibitory.

A noteworthy point here is this that in वस्तुध्वनि sometimes a रस may be found, but it is never prominent. It is like, to quote विवेक, a sovereign king who attends the marriage ceremony of his minister in which the latter figures prominently.

Though in the body of the text हेमचन्द्र does not discuss at length the significance and the necessity

of ध्वनि sense, in his विवेक, he brings together all the views for and against ध्वनि, and closely follows मम्मट. In fact here the whole of विवेक is a faithful copy of the major portion of काव्यप्रकाश—(5th उल्लास). The opponents of ध्वनि theory, who object to this third kind of sense, all agree in saying that the suggested meaning can be expressed by the primary sense as well. But मम्मट, with his followers, maintains that this suggested sense can never be expressed either by the primary sense or by the purport of the whole sentence. As regards the meaning of a sentence, there are two well-known views (1) अभिहितान्वयवाद and (2) अन्विताभिधानवाद. The former view holds that first of all in a sentence various words yield their own sense; then looking to the context of the words and to the propriety, these words join hands with one another and thus the whole sentence yields a coherent sense. The latter view holds that words in their disconnected state do not yield any sense at all. They first of all connect themselves with one another in addition to their individual sense, and thus agree with the purport of the whole sentence.

According to the first view, words have no other power than that of expressing their own primary meaning. It is, therefore, quite clear that words can never express even the purport of the sentences, much less the suggested sense.

Going one step further, the अन्विताभिधानवादिनः give an extra power to words in that they not only express their own sense, but over and above this, express their inter-relation in a sentence. But even here, as मम्मट says, though the words extend their power up to the particular or connected meaning (विशेषार्थ) in addition

to their own general sense (सामान्यार्थे), the suggested sense which goes even beyond the particular meaning or even the purport of the sentence can never be expressed by the primary sense; even according to अन्विताभिधानवादिनः, suggested sense, therefore, must be regarded as entirely different from the primary sense. There are others who may be regarded as the extremists in the अन्विताभिधानवादी camp: they say that there should not be any limit to primary sense which can be safely extended even to the purport of the whole sentence. But here obviously they are open to the fault of अन्योन्याश्रय, for unless they definitely decide the meaning of the words in a sentence first of all, they can not say what is the purport of the sentence and unless they know the purport of the sentence (तात्पर्य) they cannot assign any definite sense to the words.

There are others, who say that the primary sense is just like an arrow capable of penetrating to any depths. Why then needlessly regard such a thing as suggested meaning? Let the primary sense stretch itself to that length and serve the purpose of the suggested sense.

To this मम्मट retorts by saying that the dictum "भूतभव्यसमुच्चारणे भूतं भव्यायोपदिश्यते" quoted in support of their own view by these men is entirely mis-interpreted by them. The meaning of this dictum is this:—In a sentence there are some words that do not predicate anything new about the subject, while there are others that definitely predicate something new about the subject. This predication is or must be regarded as the purport of the whole sentence. Now this predication (भव्य) is the principle thing in a sentence and

other words (भूत) are merely subordinate to it; well and good ! but the purport of the predication lies in the actual words in the sentence and never beyond it. Our suggested sense, however, goes entirely beyond this purport of the sentence and is, therefore, outside the pale of the primary sense. If you say that the purport of the sentence goes beyond the sense of the words in a sentence then anything would mean anything—which is absurd. If it is said that the primary sense extends to the sense even beyond the sense of the actual words in a sentence, then in " Man ! a son is born unto you " the joy which is felt by the man concerned would have to be included in the primary sense !! Thus even लक्ष्यार्थ would be eliminated. In the sentence रुचिं कुरु, the word चिंकु is an obscene word, but there is obviously no primary sense here, for the two words are seperate.

If only the primary sense is recognised, then the faults in a poem will always be permanent. But we know, for instance, that कष्टत्व which is a fault in शृंगार is an excellence in बीभत्स. But the strongest argument in favour of the suggested sense is that वाच्यार्थ is always the same at all places and in all cases, but the suggested sense differs or varies with individuals or with the context. Thus, for instance,in गतोऽस्तमर्कः the primary sense is ' the sun has set ', but the suggested sense is different with different men; for instance in the case of lovers it would mean ' this is the time for secret visits '; with the cowherds it would mean ' let us bring the cows home '; with the merchants and shopkeepers it would mean: ' let us now close the shops ' etc etc.

Thus, there is a wide gulf between the primary

and the suggested sense as can be shown categorically below:—

(1) Sometimes the primary sense shows 'prohibition (निषेध) but the suggested sense is permissive, as in 'निःशेषच्युतचन्दनम्' etc. (see काव्यप्रकाश 1st उल्लास.)

(2) Sometimes वाच्यार्थ shows 'doubt' but व्यङ्ग्यार्थ is decisive as, in the verse 'मात्सर्यमुत्सार्य' etc. (see काव्यप्रकाश 6th उल्लास).

(3) Sometimes the primary sense is 'censure' but the suggested sense is 'praise' as in कथमवनिपदर्पो etc. (see विवेक on page 50).

(4) Sometimes in the primary sense there is praise but the suggested sense signifies 'censure' as in the verse हे हेलाजितबोधिसत्त्व etc. (see विवेक page 50.)

(5) Sometimes the suggested sense varies with the context or with the particular person who speaks (वक्तृवैशिष्ट्य) or the person who hears (बोद्धृवैशिष्ट्य) as in the verse 'कस्य वा न भवेद्रोषः' (see काव्यप्रकाश 5th उल्लास)

Persons who are not concerned in the matter, (the third-party) are guided by and understand only the primary sense, but the persons directly concerned, alone understand the suggested sense. This clearly shows that the primary and the suggested senses are entirely different from each other.

Now in the verse वाणीरकुडंग (see काव्यप्रकाश vth उल्लास) the primary sense exhausts itself after having suggested the inner meaning. Now this inner meaning can not be said to be directly expressed by words in the verse. It is, therefore, necessary to accept such a thing as the process of suggesting inner sense.

लक्षणा can not serve the purpose of व्यञ्जना; for in the former the indicated sense has definitely some sort of

relation with the primary sense; but the suggested sense sometimes has no sort of definite relation with the primary sense and sometimes it has a relation to a sense which has in its turn a relation to the primary sense. Besides, the suggested sense never stultifies the primary sense while लक्ष्यार्थ always does so. Thus there is a wide gulf of difference between the indicated sense and the suggested sense.

It cannot even be said that this suggested sense is always dependent on words; for sometimes it springs from gestures and other things.

Thus the suggested sense is a thing altogether different from either the primary sense, or the indicated sense or the purport of the sentence.

The monistic school of Vedanta thinks that the whole sentence is वाचक i. e. the meaning of the whole sentence is the primary sense. This school thinks that everything else is illusion. Well, even that school is constrained to admit पद and पदार्थ for the sake of व्यवहार (daily intercourse); why not then accept व्यङ्ग्यार्थ (the suggested sense) as well, for the sake of व्यवहार?

Lastly महिमभट्ट in his famous work व्यक्तिविवेक tries to refute this suggested sense by saying that what others accept as the suggested sense can be as well arrived at by means of अनुमानप्रमाण. Thus in the illustration भ्रम धार्मिक विश्रब्ध etc. the sense that the pious man is going to run away or rather should run away from the banks of Godavari is inferred from the wandering of the lion in the same place. Thus here, in fact in all other places of the suggested sense as well, अनुमान, the process of inference, would, according to महिमभट्ट, very well serve the purpose of व्यञ्जनाव्यापार (process of suggestion.)

This argument is levelled to the ground by मम्मट with one stroke of counter-argument: he says that in the above illustration there can never be inference in-as-much-as the inference of the running away of a man by reason (हेतु) of the existence of a lion is a faulty अनुमान, since the reason (हेतु) is not such as would invariably and inevitably prove साध्य (here the running away of the pious man); for if a person is sent on a certain errand by his master, he will have to stay in or go to a place frequented even by a lion. But the suggested sense occurs in spite of a faulty अनुमान or even no अनुमान at all.

Inference therefore, can never take the place of the process of suggestion.

Now to return to our text, अत्ता एत्थ तु मज्जइ etc. the primary sense is prohibitory but the suggested sense is permissive. The verse means:—" My mother in-law will lie down here, while I will be here. Oh traveller! mark ye well in broad day-light! Otherwise, being night-blind you will perhaps flounder on our beds!!

This is addressed to a traveller by a wanton woman whose husband had been away and who had only an old mother-in-law with her. " Do not stumble on our beds "-is the prohibitory primary sense, but " mark our respective beds, so that you can approach my bed, at night straight-way " is the suggested sense.

Sometimes the primary sense is permissive and the suggested sense suggests another permissive sense. Thus in the verse " बहलतमा etc. " meaning " this cursed night is pitchy dark; to-day my husband has gone away; the whole house is lonely, ye neighbour! kindly do wake up, so that we may not be robbed by thieves! "

'Wake up' is विधि in the primary sense. 'Come here without fear, we shall pass the whole night in unrestrained love-sports' is the suggested sense which is of the nature of विधि.

Sometimes one prohibitory direct sense leads to another prohibitory suggested sense as in आसाइयं etc. Here by the prohibitory sentence meaning that the field of the house-holder should be made free from the molestation of a wild bull, another prohibition of the mischief of the paramour is suggested.

Sometimes while in the primary sense there is neither विधि nor निषेध the suggested sense is विधि. For instance:—

"Oh traveller! if you take away my loin-cloth from my hips, whom should I call for help, alone as I am in this forest and remote as the town is from this place?" (verse 17)

Here there is neither विधि nor निषेध but a mere statement of facts. But the suggested sense is permissive in that the woman asks the traveller to take away her loin-cloth by suggesting that the place is perfectly solitary.

Sometimes while in the primary sense, there is neither विधि nor निषेध the suggested sense signifies prohibition as in the verse "जीविताशा" etc..

"Strong is the hope of life, but feeble is the hope of wealth; thus have I told you about the state of my mind; now dear, you may either go or stay.

By saying 'either go or stay' neither विधि nor निषेध is shown, but by suggesting with the words "धनाशा दुर्बला मम" that it was impossible for her to live without him, she actually prevented his departure.

Sometimes the primary sense shows both विधि and निषेध, but the suggested sense shows another विधि. Thus in verse 19 which means:

" Ye traveller, boasting of the beauty of your wife, go by another path. In this accursed town the daughter of the headman of the village is caught in a net from which she can never free herself " (i. e. she is under the strict vigilance of her elders).

" Go by another path " shows both विधि and निषेध, but ' the daughter of the headman is worthy to look at even by you boasting of the beauty of your wife ' is another विधि.

Sometimes while in the primary sense there are both विधि and निषेध, in the suggested sense there is only another निषेध, as in the verse 20 which means " Collect only those flowers that have fallen down, but do not, Oh daughter in-law of a farmer ! shake the शेफालिका tree. Look here ! the noise of your bangles, jarring to hear, has been already heard by your father-in-law.

Here ' collect flowers ' is विधि, do not shake the शेफालिका tree is निषेध, in the primary sense, but ' when you are indulging in clandestine amours, do not make noise of your bangles ' is another निषेध in the suggested sense.

Sometimes in the primary sense there is विधि, but there is neither विधि nor निषेध in the suggested sense as in " walk gently, ye slender-waisted woman ! plant your footsteps continuously (liter. with effort) on the ground; ye woman with buxom breasts ! with great effort you are created by the creator, yet you are likely to break down (by hasty walking)—verse 21.

Here 'walk slowly' is विधि, but the suggested sense is:

'you are extremely delicate'—this is neither विधि nor निषेध.

Sometimes the primary sense shows निषेध, but the suggested sense shows neither विधि nor निषेध as in verse 22 meaning "ye! who have dissipated the mass of dark ness with the light of your moon-like face, kindly go back; for you are throwing obstacles in the path of other अभिसारिकाs (women going to meet their lovers) you wretched one!

Here 'go back' is निषेध in the primary sense, but the suggested sense, which only deals with the matchless beauty of the woman's face, shows neither विधि nor निषेध.

Sometimes while in the primary sense, there are both विधि and निषेध, the suggested sense shows neither. Thus in "Go away. Let there be sighing and weeping of me alone; gentle-hearted that you are, let there not be sighing and weeping by you seperated from her." (verse 23) 'let there be sighing by me alone' is विधि. 'let there be no sighing by you' is निषेध in the primary sense. but in the suggested sense there is neither विधि nor निषेध; simply the expostulation of the offending lover by his beloved is suggested.

Sometimes there is neither विधि nor निषेध in the primary sense; the suggested sense also has neither विधि nor निषेध. For instance in the verse 24 meaning "though your body is decorated with the tips of (her) nails, though your eyes are rolling with sleeplessness, still, Oh my lover with sable limbs! you do not torment my heart so much as you do while you are having your nether lip free from the wounds (made by her teeth.)

This is said by an indignant lady to her lover suspected to be in love with her co-wife.

The primary sense is "I am free from jealousy

with regard to my co-wife; the nail-prints and other signs indicating your love-dalliance with my co-wife is, therefore, not painful to me to look at. But I am simply pained with the idea that your nether lip is not graced with the wounds made by her teeth (while kissing you) – that shows that you did not get full leisure to enjoy your amours with her." With these outwardly gentle and loving words the lady conceals her indignation born of her jealousy. But on the strength of the context a clever reader may easily grasp the following suggested sense:—

"Owing to your excessive love (for my co-wife) you went on kissing her ceaselessly so that the poor lady (my co-wife) had no opportunity to hurt your lip with her merciless kissings. But it is a patent fact that you are both extremely fond of each other. I am therefore, keenly pained by your love for her.

This suggested sense shows neither विधि nor निषेध. Sometimes the primary sense is meant for one particular person, while the suggested sense is meant for a different person. The instance is in the verse 25 which means:—

"My dear friend! who will not be angry to see your nether lip sorely hurt? You, in spite of my warnings, perversely smelt the lotus with bees inside. Now bear the fruit of your perversity."

This is said by the female friend of a wanton woman whose lip was rashly hurt by her paramour during her clandestine amours. The friend tries to throw off the scent all the persons who are likely to suspect her amours. The primary sense is plain enough but the suggested sense with reference to

(1) the husband, is: — " your wife is quite innocent. She can never be charged with mis-demeanour.
(2) the neighbours who suspected her of wantonness:— " you are all wrong in your suspicion. My friend is really a very chaste woman.
(3) the co-wife of the lady: — " you wanted her to be severely repremanded with by her husband, but you are baffled.
(4) the lady herself: — " Look here, I have defended you cleverly; you will now be loved by your husband more fervently than before.
(5) the paramour: " I have saved you once by this clever trick; but be cautious, do not again indulge in such open amours with my friend.
(6) to the clever by-standers :— look here, what a nice trick I have played and saved both my friend and her paramour !

In Sutra 20 हेमचन्द्र names the various processes (व्यापार) of these various senses.

The (अभिधा) process of direct sense depends on convention (समय). The process is the power to show primary sense.

Both गौणी and लक्षणा processes are nothing but the power of indicating a sense and are dependent upon the things मुख्यार्थबाध etc. (negativing direct meaning etc.)

व्यञ्जकत्वम् is the power of yielding meaning or sense (some suggested inner sense) with the help of cleverness on the part of a person who is already well-adept in understanding both the direct and the indicated senses.

In due course, it would have been proper to treat of the process or power of ' purport ' which seeks to establish inter-relation among the different words in

a sentence. Similarly the sense called the purport of the sentence also deserves mention. But हेमचन्द्र has omitted their mention and treatment for the simple reason that तात्पर्यशक्ति and तात्पर्यार्थ are concerned with only a sentence in its direct sense and as such can be included under अभिधा.

Any one or all of these three senses वाच्य लक्ष्य and व्यङ्ग्य in their turn, suggest some inner sense, when either the speaker is some peculiar person (वक्तृविशेष), or the subject in hand has some peculiarity or the toning of the sentence uttered is peculiar (काकु), or the sentence itself is peculiar (वाक्यविशेष), or the वाच्य i. e. the primary sense has some peculiarity, or the person associated with the speaker has some peculiarity (अन्यासत्ति nearness of others), or the context, place, time, movements or gestures – all these and others have some peculiarity about them. In all these cases there is definitely a suggested sense. The suggested sense, in its turn, proceeds sometimes from वाच्यार्थ, sometimes from लक्ष्यार्थ and sometimes from व्यङ्ग्यार्थ. All these peculiarities of the suggested sense have been illustrated by हेमचन्द्र closely following the footsteps of मम्मट in most cases.

(1) A peculiar speaker gives rise to a suggested sense (as in the verse 26.) : —

" Oh my neighbour ! will you kindly look after my house for a moment ? As a rule, the father of my child (i. e. my husband) in these days does not like to drink water from the well. It is better of course to go alone to fetch water from the stream, which is densely shaded with तमाल trees. Let the old broken pieces of reeds thickly clustered there, scratch my body.

Here unless we know that the woman who speaks

is a wanton woman, we can never get the suggested sense of " the concealment of her clandestine amours."

(2) peculiar subject under treatment gives rise to the suggested sense as in the verse 27:—

" Ye messenger! the elevated portion of your breast has the sandal paste entirely rubbed away from it; your nether lip has its paint entirely washed away; the corners of your eyes are void of collyrium; and your slender body is full of horripilation; you liar, you are callous to the mental agony of your friend (i. e. myself); for, to be sure, instead of going to the rascal (my lover) [to deliver my message] you went hence to the well to take your bath.

The female messenger, instead of delivering the message of the lady who speaks here, indulged in love dalliance with the lover of the lady! The manifest signs on the body of the messenger plainly indicated that she had betrayed her friend. But the offended lady instead of directly rebuking her for her betrayal, blames her for not having gone to her lover and charges her of an indifference to her interest in that the messenger had gone to bathe in a well instead of going to her lover. But the word अधम plainly shows that the lady who speaks has seen through the misdemeanour of the messenger. According to मम्मट the suggested sense here springs from the word अधम as applied to the lover. According to साहित्यदर्पण, here the व्यञ्जना proceeds from विपरीतलक्षणा indication of an ironical sense or contrary sense. The suggested sense here is that the messenger has indulged in dalliances with the lover of the lady in question.

(3) व्यङ्ग्यार्थ is suggested by a change in the voice (काकु) as illustrated in the verse 28:—

" Even after having seen द्रौपदी in that woeful condition in the assembly of कौरव king, we dwelt in the forest along with the hunters for a long time, wearing bark-garments even as the hunters do. Moreover we stayed incognito at the residence of the king विराट, in a manner totally unbecoming our position. Still with all this my eldest brother (युधिष्ठिर) is angry with me and not with the कुरुs.

Here, while speaking, भीम (in Venisamhara) lays a peculiar emphasis on some words with a change in his tone which suggests the sense that his brother should, in all fairness, be angry not with him but with the कुरुs.

(iv) Speciality of a sentence as in the verse 29 gives rise to व्यङ्ग्यार्थ.

" This king has already acquired Goddess of wealth, why then should he take the trouble of churning me ? I do not think that he wants to sleep on my surface (bosom) as before, for evidently his mind is ever alert; the princes of various countries pay him homage, why then should he erect a dam over me ? " Thus on your arrival, (Oh king) the ocean as it were, indulges in various surmises and appears to tremble consequently.

Here the whole trend of the sentence goes to suggest the identity of the king with God Vishnu.

(v) Speciality of direct sense also suggests something as in the verse 30:—

" This place on the river नर्मदा excels (all other places) on account of its beautiful array of new plantain trees; it enhances grace in young women on account of its splendid bowers; moreover Oh slender woman ! here breezes that are help-mates of dalliances

are blowing, and in front of these breezes is stalking forth cupid got infuriated all of a sudden.

Looking at the peculiar sense, we can easily say that "Do enter this spot for the sake of love dalliances" is the suggested sense.

(vi) Speciality of a person connected with the speaker suggests something (as in the verse 31).

" Being of a reticent nature, my mother-in-law, during my domestic duties for the whole day, does not speak with me, (I work from morning to evening) only in the evening perhaps for a short time I may get rest."

Said by a wanton woman to a stranger. The suggested sense is "evening is the time for our secret meeting."

(vii) Peculiar context as in the verse 32 also gives rise to ध्वनिः "I learn that your husband will arrive here within an hour or so to day. Why are you standing here in this manner? Prepare yourself for his welcome.

Here "do not approach your paramour" is the suggested sense.

(viii) Peculiar place also gives rise to ध्वनि as in the verse अन्यत्र यूयम् (verse 33) etc.

"You may collect flowers elsewhere; I will collect here; pray don't press me; I am unable to stir" etc.

Here the suggested meaning is: "This place is perfectly secluded, you may safely send my lover here!' The inner sense is with reference to the friend of the wanton lady.

(ix) A peculiar time is also suggestive as in 'गुरुयण' etc. (verse 34).

Said by a lady to her husband who was about

to start on a journey under the orders of his elders. The lady is afraid of the seperation from him and wants to dissuade him from his journey by saying :—

"You may go, for you have to go; (as regards myself) You will know what to do etc.."

"In the days of spring, I will die broken-hearted, if you go. I do not know what will be your condition" is the suggested sense here.

(x) Sometimes, the suggested sense starts from some peculiar gestures as in "द्वारोपान्तनिरन्तरे" etc. (verse 35) in which the lady first pressed her thighs together, then she made gestures of veiling her face, of moving her eyes etc. All this suggested that she wanted her paramour at a particular place as well as time for her secret amours.

(xi) Sometimes the suggested sense is with regard to both the speaker and the person addressed as in the the verse 14 'अत्ता इत्थ' already explained above.

Sometimes the suggested sense is with reference to three persons as in 'कस्स वा न' etc.

In all these instances, the suggested sense proceeds from अभिधा (primary sense).

The following, however, is an example of the suggested sense proceeding from an indicated sense: "साहंती सहि सुहयं" etc. (verse 36). This is said by a lady to her female friend who acted as a love-messenger but instead of delivering her message herself indulged in secret dalliances with the lady's lover. The lady instead of remonstrating with her for her treachery says (ironically): "you have taken much trouble for me and acted just as a friend should act". This really means

that she (the friend) was a rank traitress in that she betrayed her friend and indulged in secret amour with the lady's lover. The inner sense is that the lover is the real culprit.

Sometimes the suggested sense proceeds from another suggested sense as in 'वाणियय हत्थिदंता' etc : — " Oh you merchant ! How can there be tiger-skin or tusks of elephants in our house (for sale) when our daughter-in-law with her face covered with dishevelled hair is moving about in the house..

Here the adjective लुलितालकमुखी suggests that the son of the speaker is always engaged in love dalliance with his wife and it is further suggested that he (the son) owing to his excess of sexual enjoyment is greatly emaciated and is no longer able to kill tigers and elephants in hunting and collect tusks and hides.

Sutra 22 deals with the varieties of the suggested sense as follows:—

The suggested sense is two-fold:—the one depending on the power of words and the other proceeding from the primary sense (amply illustrated above). There is no third variety—that depending both upon the words and sense simaltaneously, for it can be safely included under शब्दशक्तिमूलव्यङ्ग्य for in it between a sense and a word, the word is more important than its sense.

Sutra 23 defines शब्दशक्तिमूलव्यङ्ग्य as follows:—When in a sentence, a word in its primary sense yields various meanings but on the strength of various tests such as association etc. other senses are rejected and only two senses remain, the first is the primary sense and the other is called the suggested sense. The word that has

thus two senses and that suggests some figure of speech or some deep sense, gives rise to शब्दशक्तिमूलव्यङ्ग्य. (ii) Similarly when a word by its process of indication (i. e. लक्षणा) giving rise to an indicated sense (लक्ष्यार्थ) suggests either some figures of speech or some subtle statement after its लक्ष्यार्थ, शब्दशक्तिमूलव्यङ्ग्य comes into operation.

Thus there are two kinds of शब्दशक्तिमूलव्यङ्ग्य—one based on अभिधा (i. e. अभिधामूलक) the other based on लक्षणा, (i. e. लक्षणामूलक).

These two kinds again are two-fold each: One is पदध्वनि and the other is वाक्यध्वनि.

भर्तृहरि, the famous grammarian, has given in his कारिकाs (quoted here) a long list of the clues that help in deciding the sense of words; they are :—

(1) संयोग–a word coming together with another word restricts its own sense; for instance in लक्ष्मणान्वितः रामः, राम neither means बलराम nor परशुराम, but means only राम the son of दशरथ; for the word लक्ष्मणान्वितः i. e. his संयोग (association) with लक्ष्मण is a decisive clue.

(2) विप्रयोग–seperation. In विना सीतां रामः the word राम must mean राम the son of दशरथ; for the seperation of सीता is possible only in the case of राम the son of दशरथ.

(3) साहचर्य. In the sentence बुधो भौमश्चोच्चैः etc. बुध must mean 'the planet mercury' for बुध, the planet, alone is always associated with भौम the planet 'mars'.

(4) विरोधिता eg. रामार्जुनव्यतिकर. Here राम must mean परशुराम, for he alone can be mentioned together with अर्जुन i. e. सहस्रार्जुन (the two being rivals of each other).

(5) अर्थ-purpose, eg. in सैन्धवमानय मृगयांचरिष्यामि, सैन्धव must means 'a horse' and not 'salt', for the former alone is useful in मृगया (hunting).

(6) प्रकरण context; eg. in देवो न जानाति तम्, देव must

mean 'your honour' and not 'a God', the context being in favour of the former meaning.

(7) लिङ्ग Characteristic, a symbol. For instance, in the line कोदण्डं यस्य गाण्डीवं स्पर्धते कस्तमर्जुनम्, अर्जुन must mean अर्जुन the son of कुन्ती, and not सहस्रार्जुन, for गाण्डीव bow is the token of the former and not of the latter.

(8) अन्यस्य शब्दस्य संनिधिः Proximity of a peculiar word. For instance in देवस्य शृङ्गारिणः देव must mean cupid because of its proximity with the word शृङ्गारिणः

(9) सामर्थ्य–capacity; for instance in मधुना मत्तः कोकिलः, मधु must mean 'the spring' and not 'wine' for spring alone has the capacity to intoxicate the cuckoo.

(10) औचित्य propriety; for instance in तन्व्या वक्त्रं त्वां पातु there is no propriety in saying that the face of the lady should protect; therefore, the word पातु must be interpreted in the sense of "turn favourably towards you in love."

(11) देश. A particular place for instance 'अहो-महेश्वरस्यात्र कान्तिः' if the place is the capital of a king, महेश्वर must mean a king and not the God Shiva.

(12) काल. A particular time is a definite clue; for instance in "चित्रभानुर्विभात्यन्हि" by the force of the word अन्हि (by day) चित्रभानु has to be interpreted in the sense of 'the sun' and not 'the fire'.

(13) A particular person (व्यक्तिविशेष) is a clue, eg. in the sentence "मित्रंहन्तितरां" etc. from the particular person speaking this, मित्र must mean 'a friend' and not 'the sun.'.

(14) Sometimes the स्वरs उदात्त and अनुदात्त change the sense of words as has been explained in काव्यप्रकाश by the famous illustration of the sentence "इन्द्रशत्रुर्वर्धस्व". This word इन्द्रशत्रु can be interpreted in two ways (according to the way in which we dissolve the compoud).

इन्द्रः शत्रुः यस्य सः is a बहुव्रीहि compound, but इन्द्रस्यशत्रुः is a षष्ठीतत्पुरुष compound. Now if the स्वरs of the first word in the compound remain unchanged, the compound will be बहुव्रीहि, but if the compound has the final स्वर–an उदात्त, it will be a तत्पुरुष.

In बहुव्रीहि compound the meaning is "one whose killer is इन्द्र." In षष्ठीतत्पुरुष the meaning is "Killer of Indra." but the स्वरs, that are so common in the Vedas, have been now banished from the classical Sanskrit literature. It is, therefore, not very useful to mention the clue of स्वरs here.

(15) काकु, a change in the voice (when a person is swayed by some emotion), is also a definite clue in deciding the sense of a word or sentence. For instance in the famous verse "मथ्नामि कौरवशतं समरे न कोपात्" etc.. "I shall not kill the hundred कौरवs in the battle" is the apparent sense; but this sense has to be rejected for the speaker is भीम (full of anger); with the help of काकु, however, the sense is at once changed and then the verse means :—

"Shall I not kill the hundred कौरवs ? etc." Most positively–I shall.

(16) Sometimes अभिनय (gesture) decides the meaning of a sentence. The instance is given in the verse 52.

"A lady of such (the speaker here shows by his hands the bulk of her breasts) boxom breasts, possessed of such beautiful or bright eyes (as shown by gesture) has been reduced to such (again gestures) a plight in so many days (again gestures)."

(17) अपदेश is also a clue as in the verse 52. शंकर says:—"the demon has obtained his glory from here (meaning himself); it is not, therefore, proper that he

should have his destruction from here (meaning himself). It is not good to cut even a poisonous tree when once we have nutured it ourselves.

The difference between अपदेश and निर्देश is that अपदेश is pointing to some person or thing. Here शंकर points to himself by the word इतः. निर्देश is a veiled reference to a person or thing. For instance in the sentence "अत्रैव कोऽपि कस्यापि तिष्ठति" the meaning is: "Somebody of somebody is here", here the girls point their finger towards माधव without naming him.

(18) संज्ञा means sign. This also is sometimes a clue. For instance in the verse 55 Parvati at once knew that शंकर was bent upon eliciting from her some sort of answer to his random question and as an answer, as it, were shook her head (meaning that she was not willing to speak).

(19) इङ्गितम् is gesture or motion of the various limbs of the body indicating internal feelings. This is also a clue as shown in verse 56. "He wanted to know when they would meet again, but could not openly ask so in the midst of a large company. He, therefore, simply looked at her. She understood the query and as an answer closed the petals of the lotus in her hand meaning thereby: 'we meet at night'.

(20) आकार is the expression of the face as giving clue to one's internal thoughts; as in 57. "Your desire is known by your hot sighs" etc.

Thus one or more of these clues (as the case may be) definitely restrict the direct meaning (वाच्यार्थ) of a verse. But even after this direct meaning is grasped by the readers, a deep subtle meaning lurks behind

this direct meaning. This is called the suggested sense (व्यङ्ग्यार्थ)—the soul of poetry—which is obtained by the function of व्यञ्जना alone (a function of words and sense – different from अभिधा and लक्षणा.)

This व्यञ्जनाव्यापार has been a bone of contention for almost all the rhetoricians. Some are against the conception of such a novel process to arrive at the suggested sense and try either to stretch the power of अभिधा up to this suggested sense (for instance the well-known dictum "सोऽयमिषोरिव दीर्घदीर्घतरोव्यापारः") or to include this व्यञ्जना under लक्षणा (as being a part of it.)

Others are the advocotes of व्यञ्जनाव्यापार and try to prove that the function of व्यञ्जना cannot possibly be discharged either by अभिधा or लक्षणा. These are called ध्वनिवादिन्s the pioneer of whom is आनन्दवर्धन the famous author of ध्वन्यालोक. मम्मट the author of काव्यप्रकाश is also a powerful champion of व्यञ्जना. महिमभट्ट (the author of व्यक्तिविवेक) is the greatest opponent of this व्यञ्जना school.

Our author has faithfully followed आनन्दवर्धन and मम्मट and advanced the stock arguments used by these two authors in defence of व्यञ्जना. These are already given in detail on page 50, 51, 52.

It should be noted here that the contention is not about the inner meaning of a sentence or a poem—for all agree in regarding it as the most important, one, but it is about the व्यञ्जनाव्यापार. The whole controversy centres round this point.

The main arguments in favour of व्यञ्जना, as advanced by हेमचन्द्र here are as under :—

(i) अभिधा cannot express the inner meaning, for it has power to express only the direct meaning of words on the strength of convention (सङ्केत). But as

to the suggested sense, the words as they stand are utterly unable to convey it.

(ii) लक्षणाव्यापार is two-fold : गौणीलक्षणा and लक्षणलक्षणा. In the sentence गङ्गायां घोषः the direct meaning "a station of cow-herds on the waters of the river Ganges" must be rejected (मुख्यार्थबाधे), for it is an absurd statement. Some sense that is not remote from the direct sense (तद्योगे) has therefore to be accepted. This sense is obtained by लक्षणाव्यापार alone. Now why conceive लक्षणाव्यापार at all when अभिधा may serve the purpose equally well? for, can we not as well say गङ्गातटे घोषः? The answer is: by having recourse to लक्षणा we get the additional sense of "purity and coolness" with regard to the cowherd station. This प्रयोजन of the लक्षणा justifies its conception. But the point is whether this sense of purity and coolness is obtained by लक्षणाव्यापार. The answer to this as given by हेमचन्द्र is : लक्षणाव्यापार exhausts its powers after giving the sense गङ्गातटे घोषः, but the additional sense of शैत्यपावनत्वयुक्ते गङ्गातटे can not be given by this लक्षणा for the विषय i. e. the proper province of a लक्षणा is altogether different from the purpose (प्रयोजन) of a लक्षणा (just as in प्रत्यक्ष प्रमाण a jar is the subject of प्रत्यक्ष and its knowledge is its प्रयोजन.) Another व्यापार, therefore, must be conceived and accepted – this then is the व्यञ्जनाव्यापार. When once व्यञ्जना is established in लक्षणलक्षणा, गौणीलक्षणा need not be seperately treated.

In the verses below, हेमचन्द्र illustrates all the varieties of व्यङ्ग (due to the varieties of व्यञ्जनाव्यापार). For instance in the verse 58. The वाच्यार्थ is "the company of the good is always delightful" but the suggested sense is "the company of my lover is delightful." Here the शब्दशक्ति

व्यङ्ग्य rests on the word सदागम. Verse 59 is an instance of शब्दशक्तिमूलव्यङ्ग्य in a sentence:—नात्रस्रस्तरमस्ति etc.. " There is no bed here for you to lie down " etc.

Here the direct meaning is " Oh traveller ! this village is full of stones and there is no bed for you to lie down. If you want to stay here because of the rainy season, do it. "

The inner meaning is:—You shall have enjoyment throughout the night for the people here are all dull as stones. If you want to stay here looking to buxom breasts, you may. "

This inner meaning consists of a bare statement. There is no figure of speech (such as उपमा) suggested.

In the verse 60 the words शनि and अशनि yield double meaning. Similarly the words उदार and अनुदार are also used in two senses; but the suggested sense "Even contraries serve you " is a bare statement. अशनिः thunderbolt. अनुदारः agreeing with his wife. Verse 61 is an instance of a suggested figure of speech based on words.

भीम means terrible but suggests the comparison of भीम the son of पाण्डु. This व्यञ्जना is based on one word (पद) भीम.

But in 62 the व्यङ्ग्य is found in the whole sentence: here प्रोल्लसद्धारः has two senses (1) प्रोल्लसन् हारः and (2) प्रोल्लसन्त्यो धाराः 'whom do her breasts not make pine for ?' is the direct sense. 'Whom does not the rainy-season not make uneasy ?' is the suggested sense. The suggested figure is उपमा (the resemblance of course, is quite verbal—but the figure has, somehow, to be accepted, otherwise the suggested meaning with be irrelevant.

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Similarly in the verse 63, श्यामा, along with its adjectives, is first interpreted in the sense of (1) a beautiful woman and then (2) a moon-lit night. The suggested figure is उपमा. Here चन्द्राभरणा means 'having ornaments of the shape of the cresent moon.' समुद् means full of joy.

Again in the sentence "मातङ्गगामिन्यःशीलवत्यश्च" etc. the suggested figure is विरोधाभास.

In the verse 65, पादाः is to be interpreted in the sense of (1) rays (of the sun) as well as (2) the feet of a king—and consequently the whole verse yields two senses. The figure suggested is व्यतिरेक which shows the superiority of the feet of the king over the rays of the sun. In addition to व्यतिरेक there is श्लेष throughout the verse. Thus न खोद्भासिनः नख=nail and ख=sky. अब्ज= moon and lotus चामर=chowrie and च+अमर Gods.

Verse 66 is an instance of a suggested statement (वस्तु) based on गौणीलक्षणा.

The moon is as pale as a mirror rendered dim by the breath of a man. अन्ध is a word which has to be taken not in the literal sense of 'blind' but dim. This is लक्षणा and the प्रयोजन of this गौणीलक्षणा is to suggest extreme pallor, uselessness and other such things. This व्यञ्जना is based upon the word अन्ध; but in verse 67 गौणीलक्षणामूलव्यञ्जना covers the whole sentence:—

Here the statement "मुनि i. e. a sage wakes throughout the night and sleeps by day" taken literally reduces itself to absurdity. It, therefore, must be interpreted with the help of गौणीलक्षणा as "the sages are alive to the eternal principle of the world to which ordinary men are totally blind."

In verse 68, again, "रामोऽस्मि सर्वं सहे" are the words of राम himself. Now it is absurd on the part of राम to say

that he is राम. Therefore with the help of लक्षणलक्षणा the word राम must be interpreted in the sense of 'a hard-hearted man (that I am)' and the suggested प्रयोजन of this लक्षणा is to show the agony of mind, the sense of self-condemnation and other such things on the part of राम.

This is called अर्थान्तरसंक्रमितवाच्यध्वनि by मम्मट and others. Here the ध्वनि is based on a word only.

But in the verse 69 व्यञ्जना covers the whole sentence. Here the statement "सुवर्णपुष्पां पृथिवीं चिन्वन्ति" "they collect this earth full of flowers in the form of gold" is absurd on the face of it. With the help of लक्षणा, therefore, it has to be interpreted in the sense "the earth is full of prosperity" etc. and the suggested sense in that case is "the brave and the learned are men superior to all.

In the Sutra 24, the suggested sense based on sense (अर्थशक्तिमूल) is defined and classified:—

(i) वस्तुध्वनि sense consisting of a mere statement suggested by वस्तु.

(ii) वस्तुध्वनि suggested by a figure of speech (अलङ्कार)

(iii) अलङ्कारध्वनि suggested by वस्तु.

(iv) अलङ्कारध्वनि suggested by अलङ्कार.

Again these varieties are each of them possible either in a word or in a sentence or in a composition or throughout a work.

मम्मट in his काव्यप्रकाश has again divided this अर्थशक्तिमूलव्यङ्ग्य into three kinds:—(1) one in which the whole sense is natural (2) one that is conceived by virtue of the poet's words full of grand imagination (कविप्रौढोक्ति) and (3) one that is created by the words full of grand imagination of the speaker conceived by the poet (कविनिबद्धवक्तृप्रौढोक्तिमात्रनिष्पन्नशरीरः). Now this division is

discarded by हेमचन्द्र by saying that even a natural sense does not appear charming without the magnificient utterances of a poet. कविप्रौढोक्ति thus is essential for the creation of a charming poem.

For instance in the verse:—

शिखरिणि क्व नु नाम कियच्चिरम् ।

किमभिधानमसावकरोत्तपः ॥ etc.

(quoted by हेमचन्द्र in his commentary)

A lover says:—" Oh young woman! what sort of penance has been practised by this parrot that he gets to eat the fruit of बिम्ब that is as red as thy nether tip.

Here to say that the parrot got the fruit because of his penance on the mountain is nothing but प्रौढोक्ति- a piece of the poet's grand imagination. For there is not a single mountain which has got the virtue of giving such fruit and there is no penance that can yield this fruit; being thus a matter entirely conceived by the imagination of the poet it is प्रौढोक्ति. Again the poet does not directly utter these words but they are uttered by a person conceived by the poet; the whole sense, therefore, is कविनिबद्धवक्तृप्रौढोक्तिनिष्पन्नशरीर.

हेमचन्द्र thus insists upon every sense being full of प्रौढोक्ति and discards the classification of मम्मट. Verse 70 and the following give illustrations of this अर्थशक्तिमूलव्यङ्ग्य.

श्रीसहोदररत्नाभरणे i. e. कौस्तुभाभरणे in decking their persons with the कौस्तुभ jewel (the brother of Goddess लक्ष्मी).

The demons forgot everything before their charming wives.

Here the word कुसुमबाण suggests that the God of love has got the skill to attract men with the delicate means. The ध्वनि is in the word कुसुमबाण. This ध्वनि is a mere statement based on a statement (वस्तुना वस्तुध्वनिः)

In the verse 71 a statement in the वाच्यार्थ suggests another statement " A thing loved alone gives charm to the thing; if one does not love a thing, one does not find any charm in it or in other words 'वसन्ति हि प्रेम्णि गुणा न वस्तुनि.'

The idea in the direct sense is: " The same तापी river is here, the same bank is here even now, I am the same person as before, but I do not find any charm in anything because of the absence of love in my heart. This is वस्तुना वस्तुध्वनिः in a sentence.

In the following verse—

'धीराणां रमते घुसृणारुणे न तथापि या स्तनोत्सङ्गे ।
दृष्टी रिपुगजकुम्भस्थले यथा बहलसिन्दूरे ॥'

Brave men do not find so much charm in the breasts of women as they find in the temples of the enemies' elephants.

Obviously the suggested sense is a comparision between the breasts of women and the temples of elephants.

The वाच्यार्थ—a mere वस्तु suggests a figure of speech (पदे वस्तुना अलङ्कारध्वनि) The ध्वनि is based on the word धीराणाम्.

Verse 73 contains अलङ्कारध्वनि suggested by mere वस्तु in वाच्यार्थ, in a sentence.

The idea is—वसिष्ठ tormented by the fire of grief at the death of his sons threw himself in fire but the fire was to him as cool as snow. He, therefore, threw himself into a river.

It is suggested that his grief was more terrible than fire hence the figure व्यतिरेक is suggested here.

In the verse 74:—

चूताङ्कुरावतंसं क्षणप्रसरमहार्घमनोहरसुरामोदम् ।
असमर्पितमपि गृहीतं कुसुमशरेण मधुमासलक्ष्म्या मुखम् ॥

Cupid kissed the face of वसन्तलक्ष्मी (vernal beauty) क्षण=

festival मनोहर+सुर+आमोद (1) the joy felt by Cupid (मनोहरसुर) (2) मनोहरसुरा+आमोद having the perfume of wine.

The expressed figure is विरोधाभास. The suggested sense is "I shall also follow the example of Cupid, beware!" or it may be this:—If the spring in its beginning is so intoxicating, how will it be when it is fully advanced?

Thus there is अलङ्कारेण वस्तुध्वनिः पदे.

The same variety in a sentence is illustrated in the verse: "गाढालिङ्गनरसमुद्यते दयिते लब्धुं सभः सरति ।

मानिनीनां मानः पीडनभीरुरिव हृदयतः ॥"

The pride of ladies ran away from their hearts as if it (the pride) was afraid of being crushed by the embrace of the lovers.

Here the वाच्यार्थ contains the figure उत्प्रेक्षा which suggests: "the women freely embraced their lovers in return."

In the following verse:—

"तव वल्लभस्य प्रातरासीदधरो म्लानकमलदलम् ।

इति नववधूः श्रुत्वा करोति वदनं महीसंमुखम् ॥

'the nether lip of your lover was pale like the petal of a lotus' is a metaphor (in वाच्यार्थ).

The suggested sense is:—"You have, it seems, repeatedly kissed him."

This अलङ्कारेण वस्तुध्वनि is in पद.

The same variety is found in वाक्य as illustrated in 77. 'He, who can measure the waters of the ocean, can alone describe the (countless) qualities of हयग्रीव.

Here in वाच्यार्थ the figure is निदर्शना and it suggests another figure आक्षेप (which means 'why try to describe the qualities of हयग्रीव? It is impossible to describe them.)

The last variety that of वस्तुध्वनि as found in प्रबन्ध

(not a stray verse or a poem but a collection of poems on one subject) is illustrated below in the verses quoted from महाभारत. In this long passage a vulture and a jackal are trying to outwit each other in order that they may get the dead body of a boy to eat. Both of them are trying to send away the people who have come to burn the dead body.

Here then the speeches of both the vulture and the jackal (i. e. the वाच्यार्थ) suggest their desire to eat the dead body of the boy.

This illustration is also given by मम्मट in his काव्यप्रकाश.

In ध्वन्यालोक, again, the author (आनन्दवर्धन) gives the whole of महाभारत as an illustration of a suggested sense in a प्रबन्ध (i. e. a work). He says: the suggestion in the whole of महाभारत is that 'life after all is transitory and वैराग्य alone should be the final goal of life.

Sutra 25:—All the verses containing रसs and भावs; रसाभास and भावाभास; भावशान्ति, भावोदय, भावस्थिति, भावसन्धि and भावशबलता are very good illustrations of अर्थशक्तिमूलव्यङ्ग्य.

These रस, भाव etc. are seperately mentioned by हेमचन्द्र in order to show that these are always suggested (व्यङ्ग्य); they can never come down. to the level of वाच्यार्थ; while वस्तु and अलङ्कार as a rule come under वाच्यार्थ but sometimes may come under the suggested sense.

Verse 81 gives an instance of a suggested रस in a word. " The fire blind with smoke did not see you when it burnt you (otherwise he would not have burnt such a lovely figure).

The first two lines give a most splendid picture of the frightened heroine (रत्नावली) caught in the midst of fire.

Here the word ते suggests that the familiar eyes of रत्नावली full of charming graces are vividly remembered

by the king. This word mainly suggests the intense pathos in the poem.

Sometimes even a termination or a part of a word suggests some subtle sense; for instance in the verse 82:

मा पन्थानं रुन्धि मम अपेहि बालक ! अहो असि अह्रीण: ।
वयं परतन्त्राः शून्यगृहं रक्षितव्यम् न: ॥

"Don't block my way, get away you childish and shameless fellow; we have got to guard this vacant house." Here अपेहि suggests 'you should come to the vacant house, don't betray our secret here.'

A part of a word is also suggestive. For instance in the verse 83 the plural termination in the word ताल suggests that the wife of यक्ष was adept in a variety of तालs (timing beats); this word तालैः, therefore, intensifies the विप्रलम्भशृंगार. Similarly in the verse 84 in लिखन् आस्ते the present participle termination and the locative case in भूमौ are highly suggestive—the former suggests that the repentant नायक is still sitting and is bent upon sitting there till he is pardoned and भूमौ suggests that he is totally bewildered.

Similarly in "अन्यत्र व्रज बालक ! etc. Go away. Do not see me when I am bathing. This place is not meant for persons who are afraid of their wives." एतत् स्थानम् is suggestive of the romantic nature of the place. Again the तद्धित termination क in जायाभीरुक suggests that the woman utterly condemns the man for being afraid of his own wife and thus losing the pleasure of secret love.

Similarly in the verse 86 the two चs show simultaneous action. 'On the one hand there is this seperation and on the other hand, has set in this rainy-season.' Even one of these two events is enough to

torment the king, why then talk of the effect of these two at a time. The two चs, therefore, are highly suggestive. Besides the word रम्य in निरातपत्ररम्यैः intensifies the उद्दीपनविभाव in the verse.

Again in the line 'प्रस्निग्धाः क्वचिदिङ्गुदीफलभिदः etc.' the उपसर्ग प्र suggests the freshness of इङ्गुदी fruits and thus shows the superb beauty of the hermitage.

Sometimes a number of निपातs and उपसर्गs comes together and suggests some subtle sense as in 'अहो बताऽसि स्पृहणीयवीर्यः' अहो and बतः show great admiration.

Again in the verse 89 in the word समुपाचरन्तम् the उपसर्गs सम् उप and आ–all meaning 'playing the part of a man–चरन्तं–in a wonderful way (समुप) and with an all-pervading (आ) activity, are highly suggestive.

In 'क्षत्रियकुमार आसीत्' आसीत् (was) suggests that परशुराम was so very confident of his strength that he thought राम as already killed!

The crude form of a word being highly suggestive is illustrated in the verse 91.

Here दिवसैः suggests that it was a miracle that his wretched house was transformed into a palace in a few days. Again the words तत् and नतभित्ति suggest the squalid appearance of his (सुदामा's) former house.

Similarly in the verse 92:—

" रतिकेलिहृतनिवसनकरकिसलयरुद्धनयनयुगलस्य ।
रुद्रस्य तृतीयनयनं पार्वतीपरिचुम्बितं जयति ॥ "

"when Shanker in his amorous mood took away the garment of पार्वती, she closed his two eyes with her two hands and closed his third eye with her lips!"

Here जयति suggests that पार्वती's way of closing the third eye of Shankar was simply marvellous.

10

ADHYAYA II.

In this chapter हेमचन्द्र defines and illustrates all the kinds of रस together with all the constituents of रस.

The first Sutra defines रसः—

A स्थायीभाव fully developed by means of विभाव अनुभाव and व्यभिचारिभाव assumes the form of a रस.

As has been already said (in the first chapter) रस, भाव and all their varieties are always suggested; they are never directly expressed.

A स्थायीभाव, as its name shows, is the inborn permanent emotion in the heart of every man. Such permanent emotions are regarded as being only eight. They are:—

रतिर्हासश्च शोकश्च क्रोधोत्साहौ भयं तथा ।
जुगुप्सा विस्मयश्चेति स्थायिभावाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

This inborn emotion is, at the beginning, only in a dormant state but when it finds some object for its working and gets intensified by favourable circumstances, it gets fully developed and then attaining its zenith is termed a रस.

विभाव is an object that helps in developing the स्थायिभाव. It is two-fold:—आलम्बनविभाव and उद्दीपनविभाव. (1) आलम्बन विभाव, as the word signifies, is the object on which the emotion hangs, that is to say, is the object which serves as a field for the activity of that particular emotion.

To take a concrete instance : the emotion of रति (love) is an inborn and a permanent emotion in human heart. But unless it finds any object for its activity it never comes into prominence but lies dormant in the heart. Now suppose a young man

happens to see a beautiful young woman. At the first sight his emotion is aroused and he begins to think of her. The emotion of love (रति) then is the स्थायी भाव and the young woman is the आलम्बन विभाव. Now suppose that the place where he meets the woman is a secluded garden and the woman seems to be favourably inclined towards him, then his love is sure to get intensified. These things that thus intensify the love of the man are called (2) उद्दीपन विभाव–inflamers of an emotion. Now suppose that his love is fixed and is gradually getting more and more intense; then during the course of the developement of his love sometimes he is afraid of being detected in his love-making, at other times he is yearning to see her, sometimes he feels a sense of disappointment; but all the while, these momentary feeling that appear and disappear ultimately help the progress of his love.

These short-lived feelings, therefore, are called व्यभिचारि भावs or sometimes संचारिभावs. These भावs are generally fixed for a fixed रस; sometimes, however they are common to many रसs.

Again these रसs when fully developed are expressed by some gestures. These are called अनुभावs. For instance the outward signs from which it is inferred that a man is in love, are his languid gait, vacant gaze etc.. They are all अनुभावs as are mentioned in the verse: गमनमलसं शून्या दृष्टिः शरीरमसौष्ठवम् ।

श्वसितमधिकम् ।। etc. (मालतीमाधवे)

To conclude : स्थायी भाव fully developed by means of विभाव and व्यभिचारिभाव and indicated by अनुभाव is termed a रस. रस as its etymology shows (रस्यते इति रसः) is a thing that is tasted and enjoyed.

Now the important question in this connexion is this:—Who tastes or enjoys the रस ?

Before answering this question it is desirable to make a clear distinction between the रस in ordinary life and the रस in poetry. In ordinary everyday life, the रस, for instance the sentiment of love, is produced (or rather developed) in the heart of a young man who has fallen in love with a young woman. Naturally if his love is reciprocated, it is tasted and enjoyed by him alone. Others can never taste or enjoy his sentiment of love.

But in poetry (both written as well as in dramas.) the case of रस is altogether different. Here the रस is described to have developed in the characters in the poem (such as राम and सीता), the स्थायी भाव int he heart of राम is developed fully there by means of विभाव. अनुभाव and व्यभिचारिभाव. But the strangest thing here is this that the रस here developed is tasted or enjoyed not by the character in the poem or drama but by the readers or the audience in a theatre!

How is this miracle worked? The explanation is this:—

There is a hidden power called साधारणीकरण in poetry, by virtue of which the readers (or the audience)- think that the विभावs, अनुभावs and व्यभिचारिभावs that are really exclusively with reference to the characters in a poem or a drama are their own! Thus while the drama is being staged, every one of the audience thinks or rather fancies that he is a hero in the fairy land of imagination and that the female character in the play is his beloved (he forgets for a while that they

are राम and सीता) and that the विभाव अनुभाव etc. are with reference to him. (ममैवेते परस्यैवेते...इति...साधारण्येन प्रतीतैरभिव्यक्तः)

It is then that his स्थायी भाव is aroused and ultimately attaining zenith is transformed into रस. This रस is then tasted and enjoyed by him–yet not by him alone but by thousands of spectators simaltaneously without being jealous of the neighbour that participates in the enjoyment of that रस (नियतृप्रमातृगतत्वेन स्थितोऽपि साधारणोपायबलात् सहृदयसंवादभाजा साधारण्येन गोचरीक्रियमाणः)

This रस is so marvellous that the reader or every one of the audience can enjoy it, without physically passing through all phases of love-making—merely by hearing or seeing! Being tasted is the very essence of this रस (चर्व्यमाणतैकप्राणः); it lasts as long as the विभाव, अनुभाव etc. last (विभावादिभावनावधिः). Being of a unique nature (अलौकिकचमत्कारितया), it can be compared to the joy of the realisation of परब्रह्म. Its taste cannot be described, its joy is to be experienced by oneself (स्वसंवेदनसिद्धः) and that is its greatest proof (सिद्धः). It is enjoyed both by the poet and the readers. It is said above that it is enjoyed merely by seeing but the fact is that once it permeates the heart it is enjoyed by closing the eyes as it were in a state of trance (निमीलितनयनैः). What are known in everyday life by the terms कारण, कार्य and सहचारि are here termed as विभाव, अनुभाव, and व्यभिचारि भाव.

The most important qnestion in this connection is about the appearance of रस. 'How is it that the रस makes its appearance?' is the first question; and where does it appear–is another question. The whole controversy among Sanskrit rhetoricians has centred round these two questions. Different views are held on

these two questions by different writers. हेमचन्द्र has enumerated almost all the views on these points and discussed them in his commentary most exhaustively. We are giving below in a nut shell all the main views regarding these questions:--

(1) भट्टलोल्लट's view:—a स्थायी when produced by विभावs, made manifest by अनुभावs and developed by व्यभिचारिभावs is called a रस. रस is mainly produced in the chief characters of a poem or a drama; but because the actors identify themselves with these characters it can be as well said that रस is produced in these actors also.

(2) शंकुक's view :—When love and other such feelings are inferred (to be in an actor) by the audience even though dwelling originally in the characters, they are called रस etc.

To quote again काव्यप्रकाश, the acter is identified by the audience with the original character of Rama (रामोऽयमिति प्रतिपत्त्या ग्राह्ये नटे) just as a horse painted in a picture is regarded as a horse (चित्रतुरगन्यायेन). This identification is not a true knowledge (सम्यङ्ज्ञान), for the audience knows perfectly well that the emotions that are manifest in the actor are not real but expressed by means of his skilful gestures (शिक्षाभ्यासनिर्वर्तितस्वकार्य प्रकटनेन). On the other hand, this identification is not absolutely false for it continues to the last and is not nullified by any contrary experience at a later stage. It is, moreover, not a doubt, for the alternative necessary for a doubt is not present in this identification. It is not a mere similarity, for the knowledge of identification is not of the nature of "this actor is just like Rama"

Thus after the identification of the actors with

the principal characters of a drama or a poem—the audience, on the strength of अनुमान, infers the development of a रस in the actors. In this अनुमान the व्याप्ति is this: यत्र यत्र विभावादिः तत्र तत्र रत्यादिः स्थायिभावः (रसरूपोभवति). etc.

(3) The third view is that of भट्टनायक : according to him, रस is produced neither in राम original (for that is not possible on the stage) nor in an actor nor again in the audience but it is only enjoyed by the audience (it is neither produced nor inferred nor suggested). How can the audience enjoy the रस apparently shown with reference to others (the characters of राम etc.)? The answer is: by the process of भावकत्व, the स्थायिभाव (along with the विभाव and others) is made common to all (विभावादिसाधारणीकरणात्मना भावकत्वव्यापारेण)

(4) The above view is accepted in a great measure by अभिनवगुप्तपादाचार्य (whom मम्मट quotes as an authority), but he says that the साधारणीकरण does not require any special process but this generalization comes as a matter of course and finally the रस is suggested by विभावानुभावव्यभिचारिभाव and is enjoyed by the audience. हेमचन्द्र follows this view in its every detail.

Thus हेमचन्द्र, faithfully following मम्मट and his master अभिनवगुप्त, holds the view that रस is neither produced nor inferred but suggested.

If रस is supposed to be produced then it would mean that विभाव and others would become its cause and रस would be its effect. Now the rule is कार्य–an effect–exists even when its cause perishes; so here रस must exist even when विभाव and others disappear–but this is never the case; we have already said that रस lasts as long as the विभाव and others last (विभावादिजीवितावधि). Similarly रस can not be inferred; for in order that a

thing should be inferred it must be already in existence (सिद्ध). But we know that रस is in the process of being (जायमान) when the विभावs and others are mentioned.

रस is therefore suggested (व्यङ्ग्य) by means of विभाव अनुभाव and व्यभिचारिभाव; this is its peculiar nature.

These विभावs, अनुभावs and व्यभिचारिभावs all combined together suggest a रस. If they come singly they can not suggest a रस; for in that case it is not definitely known to what रस they belong, they by their very nature being common to more than one रस; for instance, let us take the विभाव-व्याघ्र (a tiger). This विभाव coming singly may suggest भयानक or वीर or अद्भुत or रौद्र according to the situation conceived and the view taken. Thus viewed from the point of a deer, a tiger would suggest भयानकरस; from the point of view of a brave man a tiger would suggest वीररस (when the brave man kills the tiger); again if we suppose that the tiger is devouring its prey with a terrible roar, that would suggest रौद्र.

Similarly in the case of अनुभावs. If they come singly (not in combination with विभाव and व्यभिचारिभाव) they are not able to suggest any definite रस. For instance, take the अनुभाव 'tears': they may suggest either करुण or शृङ्गार or भयानक according as the situation is conceived.

Again the व्यभिचारिभाव चिन्ता-anxiety (for instance), coming singly, would suggest either करुण or शृङ्गार or वीर or भयानक.

But in spite of this general rule that for the suggestion of a रस, a combination of विभाव अनुभाव and व्यभिचारिभाव is necessary, it sometimes happens that one of these comes in a poem where the situation or the

context is perfectly clear. In that case even a विभाव coming alone may suggest a definite रस.

For instance in the verse 93 which means:—

"Your body is the seat of all graceful movements; your dancing eye-brows are love-exciting; your face is maddeningly beautiful. You are the only beautiful figure in the three worlds."

The body, the eye-brows and the face are all उद्दीपनविभावs. There is no mention of any अनुभाव or व्यभिचारिभाव. In spite of this, the context is so clear that one can easily detect शृङ्गाररस in the verse. Similarly, in the verse 94, there are only अनुभावs of the young ladies when they happen to see youthful कृष्ण. The eyes of these young ladies are languid; their limbs are wasting day by day; their cheeks are getting paler and paler. Thus though there are only अनुभावs in this poem the context is clear and hence the विप्रलम्भशृङ्गार is easily suggested merely by the अनुभावs.

Again in the verse 95 there are only व्यभिचारिभावs mentioned of an offended women with reference to her guilty lover: her eyes became eager when she saw him coming (औत्सुक्य); when he came near, her eyes became nervous (व्रीडा); when he began to speak, her eyes dilated with joy (हर्ष); when he began to embrace, they became red (कोप); when he caught her garment, her eyes became full of anger (असूया); but when he fell at her feet her eyes brimmed with tears (प्रसाद).

The readers can easily detect विप्रलम्भशृङ्गार in the verse though there are only व्यभिचारिभावs mentioned.

But these are exceptions. The general rule is that only the combination of विभाव, अनुभाव and व्यभिचारिभाव clearly suggests a रस.

11

In the following sutras हेमचन्द्र enumerates, defines and illustrates all the रसs.

There are only nine रसs. The most familiar and the most delightful of all these रसs is शृङ्गार. हास्य closely follows शृङ्गार and sometimes serves as its help-mate. करुण which is exactly opposite of हास्य, is next mentioned; रौद्र comes next and is very often the cause of करुण. Failure in one's endeavour to get something gives rise to रौद्र (अर्थप्रधानः) based on the feeling of tust. Then comes, वीर based on the religious spirit (धर्मप्रधानः); वीर very often removes fear, hence भयानक comes next. भयानक is closely allied to बीभत्स which comes nexts. वीर finally results in marvellous exploits. अद्भुत, therefore, is next mentioned. All these रसs, hitherto mentioned, are based on the first three पुरुषार्थs with activity as their characteristic.

Exactly opposite to these three पुरुषार्थs comes finally शान्त characterised by passivity (निवृत्ति). These nine रसs are perfectly detached from one another in their characteristics. Others can be definitely included under some one of these रसs and hence can not be given a seperate place. Thus स्नेह, according to some, is the tenth रस with आर्द्रता (melting of the heart) as its स्थायी भाव. But this can easily be included under रति.

Thus the affection one feels for his friend is nothing but रति; the affection of राम for लक्ष्मण may be included under धर्मवीर (for राम loved लक्ष्मण almost religiously-says हेमचन्द्र); again the affection which a child feels for its parents can be put under भयानकरस (for, as हेमचन्द्र explains curiously, a child inwardly is afraid of his parents); similarly an old man's love for his grown-

up son springs from fear and thus is a part of भयानक ! (again a funny explaination given by हेमचन्द्र).

According to some, लौल्य (cupidity) is a distinct रस with गर्ध (gluttony) as its स्थायीभाव. But हेमचन्द्र rejects this view and says that this so-called लौल्यरस is nothing but हास्यरस in another disguise (for it excites ridicule) or at best this craving (लौल्य) may be put (as हेमचन्द्र says) under रति (love of possession)!

शृङ्गार is defined in the sutra 28 :—The sentiment of love exists between a man and a woman. So either a man or a woman is the आलम्बन विभाव of शृङ्गार. Then the objects (such as garlands, music, scents etc.) that contribute to stimulate love are the उद्दीपन विभाव. Again some prominent व्यभिचारिभावs, excepting जुगुप्सा (a sense of dislike) आलस्य (lassitude) and औग्र्य (severity), help the process of this love and hence are its व्यभिचारिभावs.

शृङ्गार is of two kinds (1) संयोग and (2) विप्रलम्भ or love in seperation.

This sentiment is a long-standing one ranging from the process of its inception to its fulfilment.

(प्रारम्भादिफलपर्यन्तव्यापिनी). It is more and more blissful (सुखोत्तरा) as it advances. It is a tie that binds two hearts together (आस्थाबन्धात्मिका); originally it is the स्थायीभाव called रति, but when fully developed it is termed शृङ्गाररस and it is then that it is enjoyed by the reader or the audience.

It is really strange that रति i. e. love between a young man and a woman should alone be accepted by all the rhetoricians as having the capacity to develop itself into रस. According to their view, all other kinds of love are not capable of rising to the high level of a रस ! For instance, the love of a mother or for a

mother, the devotion for God or a sage or the loyalty for a king are all put under the general category of रति and is condemned to the position of a mere भाव! As मम्मट says :—

रतिर्देवादिविषया व्यभिचारी तथाऽञ्जितः
भावः प्रोक्तः ॥ काव्यप्रकाश IV. 35

and remarks :—कान्ताविषया तु (रतिः) व्यक्ता शृङ्गारः ॥

Now this strange view does not stand to reason. It is a universal experience that a mother's love for her child attains a zenith not reached by any other kind of love. We fail to understand, therefore, how, under these circumstances, love between a man and a woman alone should be exalted to a supreme place in literature.

हेमचन्द्र implicitly follows in this respect the conventional view of मम्मट and other standard rhetoricians and quotes instances of रति as a भाव.

The devotion of a man to God is illustrated in the verse 96:—

"There seems to be a limited number of atoms (containing the quality of quietude) in this world, for after you were created, not a single person was created who is similar to you."

The devotion or reverence for a sage is illustrated in the verse 97.

"Those only can be termed as houses that are purified by the dust of your feet."

It is said that there are two kinds of शृङ्गाररस : (i) संभोग and (ii) विप्रलम्भ; but as हेमचन्द्र himself says this is not strictly true. Really speaking, these two kinds belong to the रति (स्थायिभाव) which is of the nature of a tie of affection; these two kinds, संभोग and विप्रलम्भ,

are overlapping terms, for even in seperation the yearning of union is there and again even in संभोग sometimes when there is a sense of security owing to the course of unimpeded love, there is a sort of (mental) seperation as भरत has apty said:—

" यद्वामाभिनिवेशितम् etc. " (नाट्यशास्त्र 22/193), which means:—It is because women are perverse in their love repulse the advances of men and are very difficult of attainment that men are mad after them.

The combination of these two aspects of love, therefore, is highly delightful; for instance:—

" They (the young man and his beloved) were on the same bed, but their faces were turned away from each other. Inwardly they were pained at this, but outwardly they were maintaining a cold attitude of pride. At such a critical hour, both began to look at each other from the corners of their eyes—all accidentally their eyes met, the coldness disappeared and with a loud laugh they rushed forward to embrace each other ! "

विभाव, अनुभाव and व्यभिचारिभाव are found distinctly only in a big poem. In stray verses (मुक्तक), we have to imagine (i. e. take for granted) the presence of all these constituents of a रस.

संभोगशृङ्गार has many varieties; the most prominent of them are mentioned by हेमचन्द्र with only a single illustration (verse 99):

" He saw that his two beloveds were sitting together. He cautiously approached them from behind and making a pretext of playing practical joke closed the eyes of one of them. Then turning his neck a little, the shrewd fellow (धूर्तः) with his body bristling

with horripilation (सपुलकः) kissed his other beloved; at this, her heart was overflowed with love and her cheek beamed with inward smiles.

Here, obviously, the first woman with closed eyes was not so much loved by the man as the other one whom he kissed.

विप्रलम्भशृङ्गार is of three kinds:—(1) अभिलाष विप्रलम्भ (i. e. one in which the lovers yearn for each other, before their first union. (2) मानविप्रलम्भ (seperation through anger) and (3) प्रवासविप्रलम्भ (seperation on account of their staying away from each other.)

If the seperation ends in grief, it transforms itself into pure pathos (करुणरस).

अभिलाष विप्रलम्भ is due either to the freak of fortune or to the dependence on others; the first kind is illustrated in the verse 101:—

पार्वती who saw that the desire of her father was frustrated and that her lovely person was no longer of any use, returned home overpowered with a sense of shame.

The second kind of अभिलाष विप्रलम्भ (due to dependence) is illustrated in 102.

The idea is:—They were dragged onwards by the flood of love but were prevented from union by the dam in the form of elders. They, therefore simply looked at each other and drank love through their eyes.

मानविप्रलम्भ is of two kinds: प्रणयमान and ईर्ष्यामान. प्रणयमान is anger due to the disregarding of one's love. It is possible in the case of both a man and a woman.

In verse 103, Parvati is angry with Shiva.

The idea is:—In order to pacify Parvati, Shiva bent down with a view to fall at her feet; but in so

doing she saw in his matted hair lying concealed the Ganges; thereupon, she kicked him.

In the following verse, राम is angry with सीता because the latter was late in coming home, being attracted and delayed by the sports of the swans.

In the following verse (104) Both the lovers are angry with each other at one and the same time.

प्रणयकुपितयोर्द्वयोरप्यलीकप्रसुप्तयो र्मानितः ।
निश्चलनिरुद्धनिश्वासदत्तकर्णयोः को मल्लः ॥

A very fine picture of angry lovers: both feigned sleep (अलीकप्रसुप्त), but were intent on hearing each other's sighs restrained with great effort!

ईर्ष्यामान (anger due to jealousy) is possible only in women. For instance in the verse 105:—

Indignant Parvati, addresses Shankar:—" You are bowing down before संध्या-evening (supposed to be a woman). You are also carrying shamelessly on your head a river. The Goddess लक्ष्मी is already churned out of the ocean—take her; why do you swallow poison ?

The instance of प्रवासविप्रलम्भ is given in the verse 107. After Krishna went to द्वारका, राधा embraced the वञ्जुल creeper bent down owing to the leaps of Krishna from it into the Jamuna, and sang such a pathetic song that even the creatures in the waters began to sob.

संभ्रम=flurry or excitement due to some panic, such as an invasion or whirlwind.

हास्य is defined in the following Sutra (9).

The essence of हास्य lies in its being produced from something done which is incompatible with a particular place, time, age or rank. अवहित्था concealment of internal feelings.

The three kinds of हास्य are given by हेमचन्द्र in the tenth Sutra.

The best kind of हास is स्मित–which according to भरत is one in which the cheeks heave up, which is attended with charming eye-glances, and in which the teeth are not displayed.

विहसित is the second kind of हास in which the eyes and the cheeks are contracted, which is attended with a sweet sound, which comes at the proper time (कालागतम्) and in which the face becomes red.

अपहसित is the worst kind of हास in which tears flow from the eyes, the shoulders and the head are violently shaken and which comes at a wrong place.

When again a man is set to laughing at the sight of another man laughing, it is called परस्थहास्य.

It has got three varieties as above, with a slight change in the names:—

(1) हसित is the first kind in which the eyes, the mouth and the cheeks are raised up and beam with pleasure and in which the teeth are slightly seen.

In (2) उपहसित the nose is elavated; the eyes look side-ways; the shoulders and the head are contracted.

Again in (3) अतिहसित there is an agitation, and a copious flow of tears, the sound is shrill and the two sides are pressed with hands.

Verse 109 is an instance of आत्मस्थ हास्य. Shankar looks at himself and laughingly says:—

" A nice dress of a bride-groom is mine to attract Parvati ! A bracelet of the serpent (वासुकि) in one hand; the eye (third) shooting fire; the throat black with swallowed poison; and the hide of an elephant—as my dress. "

A laughter excited by the laughter of others is illustrated in the verse 110:—

In the breasts of Radha pure as gold pitchers, the cloud-like dark form of Krishna was reflected; but Krishna mistook it for the blue garment of Radha and began to pull it again and again !! At this Radha heartily laughed and Krishna too began to laugh at his own discomfiture.

करुण is defined in the following Sutra (12) and explained by हेमचन्द्र in the paragraph below with the detailed mention of its विभावs अनुभावs and व्यभिचारिभावs.

चित्तवैधुर्य (agony of heart) is the characteristic of करुण. Most of the poems from the fourth canto of कुमारसंभव may be given as apt illustrations of करुण.

रौद्र (Sutra 13) is caused by the abduction of one's own wife and such other insulting acts done by others.

The wrath of भीम is illustrated in verse 112 in which he takes a vow before Draupadi thus:—

" I shall tie up your hair with my hands red with the fresh, sticky and thick blood of both the thighs of Suyodhan that will be broken to pieces by me with my club whirled with my arms in full motion."

वीर (the sentiment of bravery) is of three kinds :— (i)

धर्मवीर (a hero in duty) (2) दानवीर (a hero in giving something to others) (3) युद्धवीर (a hero on a battle field).

The verse 113 illustrates all the three kinds of heroes: " Unless I conquer the whole earth (युद्धवीर), unless I perform various sacrifices (धर्मवीर) and unless I give wealth to the beggars (दानवीर) how can I *become a king ?* "

The best instance of धर्मवीर is जीमूतवाहन in नागानन्द. परशुराम is a type of दानवीर and राम in महावीरचरित is a type of युद्धवीर.

12

The chief difference in the characteristics of रौद्र and वीर should be noted carefully, as the resemblance between the two is likely to create confusion.

In वीर (1) there is no sense of being hemmed in with calamities.

(2) the hero in वीर is never satisfied with the immediate retaliation, but has loftier aims.

(3) He has no false or hazy notions about the work he has to do.

While in रौद्र (1) the hero is full of self-egotism and infatuation and dismay (मोहविस्मयप्राधान्यम्).

(2) He may adopt crooked and horrible means to destroy his enemy.

(3) He is full of self-conceit.

भयानक is natural in women and low characters (स्त्रीनीचप्रकृतीनां स्वाभाविकम्); in high characters the fear produced by some external reason, is not genuine.

Verse 114 (from कालिदास) is a model illustration of भयानक—an excellent picture of the frightened deer when hotly chased by दुष्यन्त.

"It is frequently casting glances at my chariot with a graceful bent of his neck. Owing to its fear of the arrows, it is contracting its hinder part and thrusting it into the fore-part. It has strewn the path with the half-chewed दर्भ grass falling from its gaping mouth; with its high bounds it seems to be more in the air than on the earth.

It is said above that in high characters fear is not genuine. An objection is raised to this statement as follows :—

Why should the kings (for instance) show a mock fear towards their preceptors? Moreover why

should they show mild tremblings? Why do you say that the sentiment of fear alone is not genuine? Can it not be equally said of other sentiments that they are sometimes not genuine? For instance a prostitute may show false love. Why then restrict this कृतकता (artificiality) to fear only?

The answer as given by हेमचन्द्र to this objection is as follows :—

Sometimes one has to show mock fear, for instance: in order to create an impression that he is a modest man, a king shows himself frightened before his preceptor. By his mild gestures of fear he shows that he is not a man of a low type;

False love (रति) may be depicted, but it serves no purpose in bringing about the accomplishment of any goal of life (such as धर्म अर्थ काम etc.)

Sometimes kings show genuine anger or other sentiments in order to do good to others. In such cases it must be supposed that it is not a permanent sentiment but a temporary feeling. (व्यभिचारिभाव)

A typical instance of बीभत्स (sentiment of loathing) is given in verse 115.

A famished corpse is tearing away the skin from another corpse and after eating the flesh from its different parts, with a horrible grinning, is at last trying to take slices of flesh from the uneven cavities of bones.

An excellent illustration of अद्भुतरस is given in the verse 116:—"Krishna! is it a fact that you have eaten earth while playing? बलराम says that you have." "No mother. He is telling a lie; look here into my mouth." Thus saying, Krishna opened his mouth and

lo ! instead of a bit of earth, his mother saw the whole world in his mouth and was struck with wonder.

Usually Sanskrit rhetoricians admit only eight रसs as common both to dramas and poems. शान्तरस, according to their opinion, can never be acted on the stage, for as they say, it consists of the absence of activity and for gestures activity is necessary. But though not admissible on the stage, it can be depicted in poems and therefore मम्मट (with a number of other rhetoricians) admits it as the ninth sentiment (शान्तोऽपि नवमो रसः).

Now as regards the स्थायिभाव of शान्तरस, मम्मट and others hold that it is निर्वेद. But हेमचन्द्र strongly objects to निर्वेद being regarded as the स्थायिभाव of शान्तरस and proposes शम as the proper स्थायिभाव. निर्वेद (according to him) is वैराग्य (dislike of mundane things) which proceeds from तत्त्वज्ञान as well as ends in तत्त्वज्ञान. निर्वेद then becomes the effect as well as the cause of तत्त्वज्ञान- which is absurd. Therefore शम (absence of craving) must be regarded as the स्थायिभाव of शान्तरस. Verse 117 illustrates शान्तरसः—

" Shall I see those days when I would be sitting in Yogic posture on the banks of the Ganges and the deer would be coming to me and freely scratching their horns against my body."

Here a doubt is expressed as to whether शान्त can be regarded as an independent रस. Can it not be, after all, included under बीभत्स,—for शम also means a sense of loathing or dislike. विषयजुगुप्सा is common both to बीभत्स and शान्त. To this हेमचन्द्र answers thus:—

In बीभत्सरस, जुगुप्सा (loathing) is स्थायिभाव, but in शान्तरस it is only a व्यभिचारिभाव (temporary feeling), for the

prominent feature of शान्तरस is a quiet mind. In जुगुप्सा there is some sort of excitement of mind due to the sense of repugnance. If this excitement persists it will mar शान्तरस. Again if it is said that शान्तरस might be included under धर्मवीररस, the suggestion is untenable; for there is a marked difference between धर्मवीर and शान्त. In धर्मवीर, with all its lofty character, a sense of just pride is there, while in शान्तरस there is a total absence of pride or egotism. If even in spite of this difference the two sentiments are mixed together, वीर and रौद्र also shall have to be regarded as one.

Now if the hero in धर्मवीर is depicted as possessing such a lofty character that he is entirely free from every sort of pride or egotism and is full of quietude, we shall say that he no longer remains a hero in धर्म (i. e. धर्मवीर), but becomes a type of शान्तरस.

शान्तरस must be regarded, therefore, as an independent रस.

The etymology of भाव as given by हेमचन्द्र, is as follows :—(स्वात्मानं लौकिकदशायामनास्वाद्यमपि आस्वाद्यं कुर्वन्ति) In everyday life these feelings can not be enjoyed with pleasure by others; but here in the domain of poetry these feelings offer themselves as objects of enjoyment, (आत्मानं भावयन्ति—आस्वाद्यं कुर्वन्ति) or rather they pervade the mind of the audience (व्याप्नुवन्ति सामाजिकानां मनः) and therefore they are called भावाः (both स्थायिभाव and व्यभिचारिभाव have the same etymology).

स्थायिभावs are so called because they are inborn feelings in every human heart. Every human heart has a desire for pleasure. Every man some time or other regards himself superior to others and laughs at them. He has his moments of anger, sorrow, lofty thoughts,

loathing and wonder. The only difference found is a difference of degree or a difference in the extent of the play of these feelings. The standard for regarding these feelings as higher or lower is whether they help the promotion of पुरुषार्थs or not. They deserve depiction only if they help one of these पुरुषार्थs (aims of life.)

व्यभिचारिभावs, on the other hand, are fluctuating feelings. Some hearts, rather some men, are void of some व्यभिचारिभावs; for instance: a sound heart and a sound body can never have the feeling of indolence (आलस्य) or exertion (श्रम) or ग्लानि (languor).

Some feelings, again, appear in a man but disappear entirely when their cause is removed. In short व्यभिचारिभावs are short-lived feelings. They are not inborn and permanent in every human heart as the स्थायिभावs. Even when they (स्थायिभावs) seem to disappear when the cause (not of their birth but of their development) is removed, they do not entirely disappear, but lie dormant in the heart awaiting another favourable opportunity (प्रलीनकल्पा अपि संस्कारशेषतां नातिवर्तन्ते) for their development; their inherent power is never exhausted.

On the other hand, a व्यभिचारिभाव is said to spring from some outward cause. For instance, if a man feels that he is fatigued (ग्लान) we ask : What is the cause of his fatigue ? This shows that his feeling of fatigue is not an inborn feeling. But we never question : Why is राम full of fortitude (उत्साह) ? For we know that this feeling never arises from external causes. विभावs merely develop them. It is, therefore, that they are called वासनाs in the human heart.

Sometimes some स्थायिभावs, if not fully developed, are known as व्यभिचारिभावs; for instance, the रति of रावण

towards सीता, not being reciprocated, never attains the height of स्थायिभाव, but remains a व्यभिचारिभाव. Similarly the love we cherish towards our elders or servants is only a भाव. Anger in शृङ्गार and वीर is only a भाव.

The thirty-three व्यभिचारिभावs are enumerated and defined by हेमचन्द्र in the 19th Sutra and the following paragraph.

These भावs sometimes seem to be steady (not as much as the स्थायिभावs of course). This is called भावस्थिति.

For instance the feeling of वितर्क (conjecture) in the verse 117 has remained steady to the end of the verse, for the verse contains a series of conjectures. पुरुरवा, mad with the grief of seperation says about उर्वशी:—

Can it be that she has concealed herself with anger? No; it can not be, for she is never angry for a long period. Has she gone to heaven? No, for she loves me sincerely. Has she been abducted by demons? It can not be in my presence. What can be the reason, then, of her complete disappearance?

Here the main sentiment is विप्रलम्भशृङ्गार, but the beauty of the poem lies in a series of conjectures-भावस्थिति.

Sometimes a feeling appears very prominently in a poem. This is called भावोदय which is illustrated in the verse 118.

" When the woman heard the mention of another woman's name from the mouth of her lover (this is called गोत्रविपर्यय or गोत्रस्खलन in Sanskrit—the mention of another lady is of course a slip of the tongue on the part of the lover) she, being on the same bed with her husband, made a semblance of amorous gestures, but did not embrace him with her breasts. This is मानोदय (appearance of anger)." Similarly, भावप्रशम is the

disappearance of a feeling (in a prominent way of course). This is illustrated in 119:—

" When he (the lover) was seen, her anger began to contract like her eyes; when he stood near her, her anger bent down like her face; when he touched her, her anger came out like her horripilation; when he began to talk to her, her anger began to slip off like the knot of her garment; and when he fell at her feet, her anger entirely vanished as if it got ashamed (to stay there any longer)!

Two feelings prominently coming in conjuction with each other give rise to भावसंधि.

The instance of भावसंधि is given in verse 120:—

Rama felt, on the one hand, a genuine pleasure at the arrival of परशुराम, and on the other, an intense joy at the embrace of सीता.

Two feelings coming side by side give rise to भावसंधि. But in भावशबलता diverse feelings come and go in quick succession and render the poem very beautiful, as in the verse 121 where a king (पुरूरवा) happening to see a beautiful lady falls in love with her and is swayed by diverse feelings thus:—

Is it becoming my noble family to do this ? (वितर्क); can I see her again ? (औत्सुक्य); of what avail is my learning if it does not control my feelings (मति); Oh for the face, beautiful even in anger ! (स्मरण); alas ! what would the wise say ? (शङ्का); Oh ! she is not easy to obtain (दैन्य); compose thyself, my heart ! (धृति) what blessed youth will get her ? (चिन्ता),

व्यभिचारिभावs are so called because they help the development of स्थायिभावs by their presence or rather their movements (विविधं आभिमुख्येन चरन्तीति व्यभिचारिणः)

The number of व्यभिचारिभावs is strictly thirty-three. Other feelings can be included under some of them-as is shown by हेमचन्द्र.

According to some, these भावs alone are capable of developing the स्थायिभावs.

All the above-mentioned व्यभिचारिभावs are once again clearly defined; their causes are stated and their indications are given by हेमचन्द्र.

धृति (Contentment) is illustrated in the verse 122. Riches consist of a contented mind.

स्मृति is remembrance of a thing at the sight of a similar thing. Verse 123 is an instance of स्मृति.

Is it the mountain मैनाक lying in my path ? No, it can not be; for my path is always unobstructed. Is it the eagle coming in my way ? No, it knows that रावण is as powerful as its master. Oh ! it is only जटायु courting death at my hands.

मति (decision) is illustrated in 124:—

Doubtless this must be a क्षत्रिय girl, as I am attracted towards her. In matters of doubt, our heart is the highest authority.

Verse 125 is an instance of व्रीडा.

" A woman looking into a mirror saw the reflection of her lover standing behind her—and at once got abashed."

जाड्य is powerlessness to understand a thing properly This is due to the sight of a thing either keenly desired or intensely disliked.

Parvati, though instructed by her female friends as regards the amorous sports, forgot everything in the presence of Shankar (Verse 126)

विषाद, agony of mind or despondency, is illustrated in verse 127:—

13

" You have gone to a place where in finding you my friendship with the monkeys, their best intellect and strength are all unavailing.

मद is of three kinds according as the person concerned is of a high, middle or low kind.

" Their broken utterances, their utter disregard of their garments and their starting to go away without any reason bespoke their getting tipsy." (verse 128)

निद्रा is beautifully illustrated in th verse 130.

" While she had closed her eyes in sleep, she slowly muttered some words which were neither full of meaning nor entirely meaningless. Oh ! for those sweet words which are still ringing in my heart ! "

Verse 131 :—

कृष्ण muttered in sleep: Oh लक्ष्मण ! " these cruel clouds, in my seperation from जानकी, are racking my vitals." राधा heard these words and at the mention of जानकी got jealous.

कृष्ण remembered in his dream the incidents of his past life (व्याहृतपूर्वजन्मचरितः)

This an instance of सुप्त.

The difference between निद्रा and सुप्त is this: in the former, there is only a beginning of sleep—it is a state of drowsiness. While सुप्त is the advanced state of sleep.

औत्सुक्य is illustrated in 132:—

" In her eagerness to see the prince अज, a woman while running to the balcony got her braid of hair loosened; but she caught it in her grip and did not think of tying it.

अवहित्थम् is dissimulation. (जैह्म्य crookedness); under the pretext of doing something, one tries successfully to conceal one's inner feelings in अवहित्थ, as पार्वती, in

the presence of her father, did by counting the petals of her sport-lotus, while नारद was saying something about शंकर. (verse 133)

By means of this trick, she successfully concealed her love.

शङ्का is fear, either in oneself when dreading punishment for one's own crime, or detected in others; thus it is two-fold.

An instance of the former kind of fear is given in verse 134.

" I am afraid of that prince who from afar tossed in the air, like a blade of grass, the son of ताडका huge as a mountain. "

चापल—rashness is illustrated (in not a very appropriate manner, we think) in the verse 135.

A certain king (one of the suitors in the स्वयंवर of इन्दुमती) whirled his lotus with his hands, closed its stalk and struck the bees with its petals.

He did this with a view to suggest to इन्दुमती that he would fondle and caress her as his lotus.

Verse 137 is again a happy instance of हर्ष.

" When the husband returned after his strenous journey through the sands of Marwar, his wife surveyed him with eyes brimming with the tears of joy and then looked at the camel his faithful companion in the journey, gave him morsels of Nimb leaves and removed tenderly the dust from off his mane with the skirt of her garment.

Verse 138 in an instance ofगर्व-pride.

परशुराम says :—If you refrain from doing insult to a Brahmin, it is to your advantage-for then we shall be friends; otherwise I shall be highly displeased.

औग्र्यम् is wrath as illustrated in the verse 139.

I have, in my wrath for the क्षत्रियs, massacred twenty–one times all the families of क्षत्रियs and extracting the foetuses and mangling them to pieces have performed the श्राद्ध ceremony of my father (पित्र्यं कुर्वतः) with the blood from the hearts of क्षत्रियs; thus have I cooled down the fire of my wrath.

The eyes of हरि in the state of awakening are described in the verse 140 :—

The eyes of हरि were not yet fully opened; they could not gaze at the jewel lamps; they were lazy in their function and had some particles of water in them. Afterwards he yawned, twisted his body and placing his hand on the pillow made of the hoods of नाग, left his bed.

ग्लानि (languor) is illustrated in the verse 141:—
" Long standing grief is tormenting her pale and emaciated body which is like a tender leaf cut off from its stem etc. "

दैन्य a great depression of mind, is due to a woeful plight.

The illustration given in the text does not create an impression of दैन्य even by a stretch of imagination, for in that verse कण्व, the father of शकुंतला, sends a dignified message to दुष्यन्त–(on behalf of शकुंतला).

Says he, " Consider well that we are high–class sages; think well over the fact that शकुंतला is loving you most sincerely; and then treat शकुंतला (at least) as you treat your other wives. Better treatment than this is a matter of luck–we should not ask for it (at this stage).

We fail to understand how these proud utterances of कण्व can be construed as betraying his depressed heart.

We must seek for some other apt illustration such as, for instance, given in दशरूपक as an illustration of दैन्य :—

वृद्धोऽन्धः पतिरेष मञ्चकगतः स्थूणावशेषं गृहम् ।
कालोऽभ्यर्णजलागमः कुशलिनी वत्सस्य वार्ताऽपि नो ॥
यत्नात्संचिततैलबिन्दुघटिका भग्नेति पर्याकुला ।
दृष्ट्वा गर्भभरालसां सुतवधूं श्वश्रूश्चिरं रोदिति ॥

An old woman saw her blind old husband lying on a cot in her dilapidated house, saw that the rainy season had set in, but there was no news of her only son (gone to some distant town to earn money), saw that the pitcher containing oil had broken, saw that her daughter-in-law was advanced in pregnency and (unable to stand these depressing circumstances) burst into tears and wept for a long time !

This is an apt illustration of दैन्य, the old woman's breaking under the woeful plight.

In verse 143 illustrative of श्रम, Sita is cleverly painted as so much overpowered with fatigue owing to her long journey that she threw her drooping limbs on the chest of राम and slept there.

उन्माद is a fit of madness—as shown in verse 144. King पुरुरवा, here, is mad with the grief of seperation from उर्वशी and asks a swan to return his wife (उर्वशी) who, he thinks, had been soten by the swan !

मोहः fainting or swoon.

" रति was stunned by the sudden grief, the functions of her senses were stopped ; and for a time her mind was blank–it was good in a way, for she became unconscious (during her swoon) of her heavy grief." (verse 145.)

This swoon of रति is due to an overpowering grief,

Sometimes, however, fainting is due to an excess of joy—this is illustrated in the verse 146 thus:—

" When my lover approached me in my bed, my lower garment dropped down of its own accord, further than this I do not remember (for I fainted with the excess of joy).

चिन्ता is constantly thinking of some beloved person (as seen in verse 147 from मालतीमाधव). माधव says:—

" I see her lovely face everywhere—in all directions, in the heart, outside etc. "

Constant thinking is not स्मृति (remembering) for it is a developed state of स्मृति. It is also not वितर्क (imagining something or somebody) for it (वितर्क) is the result of चिन्ता.

अमर्ष is indignation at one's own insult, as is illustrated in 148.

" Is it possible " says भीम, " that the कौरवs will be left to live quietly after all their attempt to kill or insult us ? "

त्रास is the most developed form of fear—intense panic. In भय a man may pause to think over the situation, but in त्रास there is utter bewilderment.

" Some women who were indulging in water-sports in a river got awfully frightened when their thighs came in contact with the fish; their eyes began to roll with fright, their hands began to tremble (a lovely picture to behold even for their female friends). (verse 149.)

अपस्मार = a fit of epilepsy.

" The sea appeared as if it was overpowered by an attack of epilepsy! It was tossing its arms (i. e. waves) to and fro and was grovelling in dust (i. e. the waves were dashing against the coast.)

निर्वेद : to get utterly disgusted with oneself. This is due either to illness (long standing) or insult or some such thing.

आवेग is excitement due to some unexpectedly terrible incident or an unusual portent.

The verse 152 is an apt illustration of 'excitement due to some sudden happening.' It is a short dialogue between the demon हिरण्यकशिपु and his servants concerning the man-lion incarnation of Vishnu that appeared suddenly for the protection of प्रल्हाद.

" Is it a lion ? " " yes. " " Is it looking like a man ? " 'No, it is altogether a strange form. Lo ! it is approaching swiftly. Oh ! it is has come already."

" A weapon ! A weapon ! " " The form (नृसिंह) has no weapon in its hand. " " quick ! quick ! Oh ! how very sharp are its nails ! " Even while uttering these words, he (हिरण्यकशिपु) was torn by the sharp nails of नृसिंह.

वितर्क guessing or inferring :

" Is it possible that the cupid conquered the world with his flower–arrows ? Impossible. But no, it may be quite possible, for mysterious are the powers of things. (verse 153)

असूया disain, as लव feels towards राम (verse 154).

लव sarcastically says :—

" He (राम) is an old person; his conduct, therefore, should not be questioned. His fame is great. Even when he retreated back while fighting with खर and even when he killed वालि (treacherously) he should not *be criticised ! (verse 154)*

मृति a dying state, but not actual death (for it can have no अनुभावs, it being an unchanging state.)

He (the hog in किरातार्जुनीय) vomitted blood, drenched

the ground with it, broke stones with his hoofs, uttered a ferocious cry, looked at अर्जुन and died.

In शृङ्गार, actual death that would remain for ever should not be depicted; either a determination to die or remain after death should be described.

In verse 155 resolution to die is described:—

" When the lover did not arrive at the stipulated time, she cast a last lingering look out through the window, made up her mind (to die), entrusted the young कुरर bird to the care of her friends and pathetically celebrated the marriage of माधवी creeper with the mango tree.

In 156 reunion after death is described—this also is admissible in शृङ्गार.

" King अज threw himself in the confluence of the waters of the Ganges and the Jamuna, secured thereby a prompt passport for heaven and there reuniting with his beloved (इन्दुमती) sported with her in paradise.

सात्विकभावs are indications of internal feelings and thus these are अनुभावs (outward indications though they are named as भावs i. e. feelings) but though to all appearances they seem to be nothing but अनुभावs it is a remarkable fact that they are regarded as भावs (internal feelings) by हेमचन्द्र. Others (such as मम्मट) do not treat of these सात्विकभावs seperately but regard them as belonging to the class of pure अनुभावs. (indicators of रसs).

The author of साहित्यदर्पण, however, treats of these सात्विकभावs seperately and thinks that though they are अनुभावs there is a subtle difference between these सात्विकभावs and ordinary अनुभावs. He says:–

विकाराः सत्त्वसंभूताः सात्विकाः परिकीर्तिताः ।
सत्वमात्रोद्भवत्वात्ते भिन्ना अप्यनुभावतः ॥

and explains the word सत्त्वम् as स्वात्मविश्रामप्रकाशकारी कश्चनान्तरो धर्मः. सत्त्व is the internal quality that exhibits to view the रसs (स्वात्मनि एव विश्रामो यस्य सः= रसः); these सात्त्विकभावs proceed directly from that internal quality; ordinary अनुभावs are more outward movements that may or may not indicate any sentiment, but these सात्त्विकभावs are invariably connected with the रसs and appear only to indicate the रसs. Thus in a way they are higher than the ordinary अनुभावs.

हेमचन्द्र goes a step further and says that these सात्त्विकभावs are in themselves feelings i. e. भावs (otherwise the name भाव given to them by भरत would be meaningless) and stand on a level with the thirty-three व्यभिचारिभावs. They are, however, not included in the list of व्यभिचारिभावs because the व्यभिचारिभावs spring from outward causes (for instance ग्लानि, आलस्य, श्रम, मूर्च्छा etc.) while these सात्त्विकभावs spring only from the internal quality of the heart.) Thus in the opinion of हेमचन्द्र they stand superior even to the व्यभिचारिभावs. They (the सात्त्विकभावs) are so closely connected with the रसs (especially with शृङ्गाररस) that their विभावs are the same as those of the रसs. सात्त्विकभावs themselves are indicated by अनुभावs (here they are totally different from the अनुभावs).

The etymology of the word सात्त्विक (as given by हेमचन्द्र) is noteworthy and is peculiarly his own; सत्त्वम् means प्राण.

First the inborn feelings, the स्थायिभावs, awake, from their dormant state and try to manifest themselves. On their way when they come to the province of प्राण, they assume totally a different form. These स्थायिभावs, transformed owing to their contact with प्राण, are known as सात्त्विकभावs (रत्यादयश्चित्तवृत्तिविशेषाःपूर्वं संविद्रूपाःसमुल्लसन्ति; तत आभ्यन्तर-प्राणान् ते स्वरूपाध्यासेन कलुषयन्ति–हेमचन्द्र's commentary).

These सात्विकभावs though exactly similar to some of the ordinary अनुभावs must be regarded as different from them. For instance अश्रु a सात्विकभाव is different from ordinary tears; for the latter may be caused by anything.

Thus one set of feelings, coming in contact with प्राण with the element of पृथ्वी in it, is called स्तम्भ. Another, coming in touch with प्राण of the जल kind, assumes the form of बाष्प. A third, coming in contact with प्राण of the तेजस् kind, gives birth to स्वेद and वैवर्ण्य. A fourth set of feelings, allied with प्राण of the आकाश kind, gives rise to प्रलय; and lastly the fifth set of feelings, allied with प्राण of the वायु kind, gives birth to three सात्विकभावs viz. रोमाञ्च वेपथु and स्वरभङ्ग differing in degree from one another.

Thus there are eight सात्विकभावs. They are internal feelings. Outward स्तम्भ (paralysis) is a quality of the body and thus differs from the internal स्तम्भ (a सात्विकभाव).

In the following sutra, हेमचन्द्र defines both रसाभास and भावाभास (a semblance of रस or भाव); रस described as belonging to lower kinds of creatures and insentient things is called रसाभास.

For instance in the verse 157: The trees are described as embracing the creepers (their beloved ones); the bunch of flowers on the creepers are their breasts and tender leaves are their red lips etc.

A description of the embraces of the trees and creepers (sub-human species) leads to शृङ्गाररसाभास संभोग शृङ्गार), as trees are insentient things.

In the verse 158 विप्रलम्भाभास (semblance of विप्रलम्भ शृङ्गार) is illustrated:—

" Oh cloud ! that river will look reduced in body

(with the flow of her waters shrunk) and will look pale (owing to the withered leaves falling in it.) Thus she will, by her love-born state, speak of your good luck (i. e. of being loved by her); do, then, undertake a thing by which you can remove her emaciation (i. e. enjoy her).

Love between a river and a cloud is here described, but both these are insentient things and hence the रसाभास.

Verse 159:—The mass of thundering clouds (women) slow on account of plenty of water in them (languid with pregnancy) are lying on the plateau of this mountain (are lying on the lap of their lovers).

Here the व्यभिचारिभाव languidity (of the clouds) is described.

Verse 160, which describes the spring, where the male bees are drinking honey with the female bees in the same flower, and the male deer is scratching the body of the female deer, is an instance of शृङ्गाराभास as the love of lower kinds of animals (such as the deer and the bees) is depicted therein.

Again the same शृङ्गाराभास is found in the verse 161 where the elephant is described as offering water to his beloved and the चक्रवाक bird is described as giving a lotus-fibre to his beloved (both lower kinds of animals).

In verse 162 a male चक्रवाक says to his wife:—

" I take your leave now; the day is over, come, embrace me for the last time; pass this night, somehow, all alone. It is not that I am faithless to you or that I am angry with you; but I have to leave you because destiny wills it." Here again the love between a male चक्रवाक and his beloved is described.

In the verse 163 the love-lorn state of an elephant is described—hence it is an instance of विप्रलम्भाभास. " He is not sending forth a trumpetting sound even at the appearance of clouds, is not eating moss from the lake; the silent bees are sitting on his temples. Surely he is suffering from the pangs of seperation from his beloved.

But in the verse 164, व्रीडा (sense of shame) a व्यभिचारिभाव is described : " Oh beloved ! the female deer are put to shame by your beautiful eye-glances and have gone away to the forest."

Depicting love between the moon and the night also leads to रसाभास as in the verse 165 :—

The moon seizing the darkness (hair) of the night (his beloved) with his fingers (his rays) is rising (kissing her face)—at which the night closes the lotuses (closes her eyes with a sense of pleasure).

Again an instance of भावाभास (व्रीडा a व्यभिचारिभाव) is given in the verse 166:—

The moon is hiding his face through shame at the sight of a beautiful woman.

The figures समासोक्ति अर्थान्तरन्यास उत्प्रेक्षा रूपक and उपमा generally help these रसाभासs and भावाभासs (especially समासोक्ति greatly helps रसाभासs as will be seen from the instances quoted above).

If the रसs or भावs are described as appearing at improper places, they lapse into रसाभास and भावाभास respectively.

For instance रावण's love for सीता (who does not reciprocate his love) is an instance of रसाभास.

This is illustrated in the verse 167:—

" Mere mention of her name acts as a spell to me;

I can't live without her even for an instant. I do not know how she can be obtained." रावण says this about सीता.

Tbe same रसाभास is illustrated in the verse 168: the poet addressing a wanton woman (having many lovers) says:—Who is that praiseworthy man without whom you can not pass your time? And who is that man (who must have been killed on the battlefield in his former birth) whom you are seeking? Who is, again, born in an happy hour, whom you wish to embrace? And who is that lucky man (who has practised penance and stored merit thereby) whom you are thinking of?

In the verse 169 the eagerness of रावण with regard to सीता is depicted; hence it is भावाभास (eagerness–औत्सुक्य being a व्यभिचारिभाव.)

In the following sutra हेमचन्द्र divides poetry into three classes:—उत्तम मध्यम and अधम. Of the three classes of poetry, उत्तम, the best kind of poetry, is व्यङ्ग्यकाव्य. It is defined in the sutra (56) as follows:—

The best kind of poetry is that where the suggested sense stands more prominently than the direct sense of the poem. This is also called a ध्वनिकाव्य.

The instance is given in the verse 170:—राम addresses रावण thus (on the battlefield):—

"No one would believe that you lifted up even an anthill (why then talk of a mountain?). You have conquered merely by your penance—why then this pride of your arms? All this, however, I shall grant to be true, if you will resist the arrow of राम (i. e. myself) enfeebled owing to seperation—my arrow the end of of which is drenched with the blood of the arm-pit of वालि which is marked by your teeth."

Here the words त्वद्भुजाङ्कितवालिकक्ष etc. are highly suggestive. They remind रावण of his utter mortification at the hands of वालि who pressing रावण in his arm-pit, wandered over the whole earth. रावण bit वालि in his arm-pit, as he was unable to do anything else under the circumstances. Here the व्यङ्ग्य (the suggested sense) is with reference to वस्तु (i. e. a mere statement devoid of either a sentiment or a figure.) Instances of रसध्वनि and अलङ्कारध्वनि are given by हेमचन्द्र in his commentary.

Where, however, the ध्वनि is not unquestionably superior to the direct sense (असति प्राधान्ये), where the prominence of ध्वनि is a matter of doubt (संदिग्धे प्राधान्ये) or where the direct sense is as prominent as ध्वनि (तुल्ये प्राधान्ये), there is मध्यम kind of poetry.

The kind of मध्यम poetry, commonly called गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्य-काव्य, is illustrated in the verse 171 which runs thus:—

वानीरनिकुञ्जोड्डीनशकुनिकोलाहलं श्रृण्वन्त्याः ।
गृहकर्मव्यापृताया वध्वाः सीदन्त्यङ्गानि ॥

Here the suggested sense is: the lover of the young woman entered a thicket of creepers which was his place of appointment. But the beauty of the expressed sense that the limbs of the woman, engrossed in house-hold duties, began to thrill at the noise of the frightened birds in the thicket is more beautiful than even the suggested sense.

Sometimes the व्यङ्ग्य (suggested sense) is subordinate to another prominently suggested sense and thus from the stand-point of the subordinated व्यङ्ग्य this becomes an instance of मध्यमकाव्य, as in the verse 178.

The wife of भूरिश्रवा seeing his hand cut off, is lamenting the death of her husband killed on the battlefield:—

" This is his hand that pulled my girdle, pressed my breast " etc.

Here the sentiment शृङ्गार is subordinated to pathos (करुण) and the poem is an instance of गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्य i. e. मध्यमकाव्य.

Another instance of the subordination of the suggested sense to the expressed sense is given in the verse 173 :—

" I have become a veritable राम, for I have wandered among the rich people with a desire to get money (राम also wandered in जनस्थान–i. e. दण्डका forest–blinded by i. e. tempted by the golden deer); I have tearfully begged alms everywhere (राम also uttered with tears in his eyes the words" Oh Sita ! where are you ? ") I have looked imploringly at the faces of the arrogant rich i. e. bad masters (while राम also aimed his arrows at the ten mouths of रावण.) Thus, though I have become राम in all respects, I have not yet obtained happiness and wealth. (I have not yet obtained सीता the mother of कुश and लव as राम had obtained.)

Here all the clauses yield double meaning–thereby suggesting a similarity (verbal of course, not real), but in the fourth line, this suggested resemblance (between the poet and राम) is expressed by the poet in so many words. There is, therefore, no prominence given to the suggested sense and hence it is a मध्यमकाव्य.

Similarly in the verse 174 which means:—

" The poison (water also) of the serpents in the form of clouds is causing the death of women seperated from their husbands. "

The direct meaning of the word विष is water,

and the suggested meaning is poison; but the suggestion is marred by the metaphor जलदभुजग and hence it is a मध्यमकाव्य.

Sometimes the suggested sense is not easy to grasp; in that case, the suggested sense has no beauty and does not appear prominently; hence it is an instance of मध्यम काव्य (असति प्राधान्ये), as in the verse 155 which runs thus:—

अहं लज्जालुस्तस्य चोन्मत्तसराणि प्रेमाणि ।
सखीजनोऽपि निपुणोऽपगच्छ किं पादरागेण ॥

A woman whose husband was devoted to her says this to her maid-servant who had come to paint her feet :—

"I am bashfnl; he (my husband) is wild in his love-sports; my friends are clever; what then is the use of painting? Go away."

Here the suggested sense is: "My husband will ask me to play the part of a man (पुरुषायित) in love-sports; in case I consent to it, my painted feet will betray me." But this sense is so obscure that the reader cannot relish its beauty, hence the वाच्य is superior to it.

Sometimes the suggested sense is so only in name, that is, it is as good as expressed. In that case it is no व्यङ्ग्य at all. Thus in the verse 176, the poet says that youth in women iustructs them in all their graces. Now the suggested sense in this verse is: "their graces are acquired without any effort--almost naturally"; but this is as good as expressed in the verse and hence, being laid bare by the poet himself, is not very attractive (like the open breasts of women).

The second kind of मध्यमकाव्य occurs when there is a doubt as regards the the prominence of the suggested sense (as compared to the direct sense); as for instance in the verse 177 which rendered into Sanskrit runs thus:—

महिलासहस्रभरिते तव हृदये सुभग सा अमान्ती ।
अनुदिनमनन्यकर्मा अङ्गं तनुकमपि तनयति ॥

A female friend of the नायिका says this to the नायक on behalf of her friend:—

" In your heart occupied by a thousand women, my friend is not likely to get room. She is, therefore, reducing the size of her body more though she is already reduced.

Here the suggested sense is:—" pacify her betimes, otherwise by the excess of getting reduced her life will be in danger."

Here one is not able to decide whether the suggested sense or the expressed sense should be considered prominent, therefore, it is a मध्यमकाव्य (संदिग्धप्राधान्ये).

The third kind occurs when both the expressed sense and the suggested sense stand on the same footing—i. e. are of equal importance (तुल्यप्राधान्ये).

As for instance in the verse: " ब्राम्हणातिक्रमत्यागोभवतामेव भूतये etc. (quoted above on page 135). Here the suggested sense is: " otherwise परशुराम will annitilate both the क्षत्रियs as well as the demons." But the expressed sense is equally beautiful.

Similarly in the verse 178 which means:—

" If the prominent rays of the moon are so eclipsed by the rays of the sun that their very existence is doubted, then it is immaterial whether they (the rays of the moon) enter the sky in multitudes, or first in an

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inverse order (i. e. come last) or are totally ashamed to appear."

The case of weak persons is suggested by the description of the rays of the moon. If the strong utterly eclipse the weak it is immaterial whether the weak appear in multitudes, etc.

Both these senses are of equal importance.

Similarly in the verse 179, which means—

"Shall I not destroy the कौरवs? Shall I not drink the blood of दुशासन?" the suggested sense is:' undoubtedly I shall destroy the कौरवs' etc. Both the senses are of equal importance.

Where there is no व्यङ्ग्य at all, but there is merely the charm of the words and the expressed sense, there is अवरकाव्य the third kind of काव्य (which is regarded as quite inferior.)

For instance the verse 180. The sense is:—

May the loud roar of नृसिंह remove your sin–the roar as solemn as the rumbling of clouds."

Here, there is no beauty of sense. There is merely the alliteration of the word ध repeated many times. There is, therefore, only a शब्दालङ्कार in this verse–there is no व्यङ्ग्य.

Similarly in the verse 181, the charm lies in the figure of speech दीपक with a mixture of श्लेष; for the words नीचाः अलीकलग्नाः (stuck on the forehead (2) showing false intimacy.) कुटिलता and कालता yield double meaning. Here also there is no व्यङ्ग्य. Though these and other such verses may be said to have some sort of रसव्यङ्ग्य in that they can be construed as having विभावs of some रस, still the so-called रसव्यङ्ग्य is not at all clear or transparently delightful. Here is, no व्यङ्ग्य, therefore, in these verses and hence they are अवरकाव्य, i. e. an inferior kind of poetry.

CHAPTER III

In this chapter the author exhaustively discusses various defects in poetry.

The definition of a काव्य as अदोषौ शब्दार्थौं has already been given. The general definition of दोष (faults) as being रसापकर्षक (marring the effect of रस) is also given. Here, in this chapter, various kinds of poetic faults are enumerated along with their definitions and illustrations.

The first sutra gives the first fault:—

To mention in words the predominant sentiment in a poem is a fault; sometimes, however, the संचारिभावs may be mentioned in words.

In the verse 182 (शृङ्गारी गिरिजानने) all the sentiments are mentioned in words—this mars the effect of the रसs. " Shankar manifested all the रसs in himself by means of various things." Even the स्थायिभावs should not be mentioned in words. For instance in " उत्साहस्तस्य कोऽप्यभूत् " the स्थायिभाव उत्साह is directly mentioned.

If, however, the sentiment is already developed by means of विभाव and अनुभाव, mere mention of the name of a particular रस does not offend so much. As far as possible, even the सञ्चारिभावs should not be mentioned by words.

In the verse 184 by the words सव्रीडा, सत्रासा etc. the different सञ्चारिभावs are directly mentioned; this is bad. But if the mention of these सञ्चारिभावs is indirect or couched in an indirect language, the fault is not so glaring. For instance, in the verse 185 औत्सुक्य (eagerness) is the सञ्चारिभाव. Now if this भाव would have been suggested by its gestures (i. e. अनुभाव) such as flurry or quick movement then the सञ्चारिभाव ought not

to have been mentioned by words. But here the word औत्सुक्य is necessary, therefore, the mention of सञ्चारिभाव by word does not offend so much.

विभाव, अनुभाव etc. of a rival रस mar a रस, if they are mentioned,

(1) in a manner in which they are not checked.

(2) in one and the same आश्रय.

(3) side by side.

(4) without being subordinated to the principal रस.

In all these four cases the poetic fault is manifest. For instance, in the verse 186 the statement that "the deer in the form of time is fleeting and once gone never returns" is directly prejudicial to the शृङ्गार sentiment which is predominant in this verse; for the statement creates an atmosphere of शान्तरस by its reference to the transitoriness of things in this world. The chief sentiment here is शृङ्गार, but it is marred by the statement of transitoriness which is the विभाव of शान्तरस.

Here the शृङ्गार is marred by निर्वेद also the सञ्चारिभाव of शान्त. Thus it is an instance of व्यभिचारिप्रातिकूल्य also. In the verse " निभृतरमणे लोचनपथे पतिते गुरूणां मध्ये ।
सकलपरिहारहृदया वनगमनमेव महति वधूः । "

A young woman saw her lover (paramour) when she was in the midst of elderly persons. But because she wanted to avoid them all, she was ready to go to the forest.

Here (सकलपरिहार) abandoning everything and (वनगमन) going to the forests are the indicators (अनुभाव) of शान्तरस (sentiment of quietude), and as such are prejudicial to the development of शृङ्गार. Of course, if वनगमन i. e. going to the forest is to be interpreted as going for the sake of bringing fuel etc., then there is no fault.

(1) अबाध्यत्वम् i. e. having the power to stand unvanquished, unchecked. If the rival रस is very powerful, then there is poetic fault. But if the rival sentiment is weak, it adds to the beauty of the sentiment in hand. For instance, in the verse

क्वा कार्यं शशलक्ष्मणः क्व च कुलं भूयोऽपि दृश्येत सा । etc.

King पुरूरवा has diverse feelings in his mind when he sees ऊर्वशी. But all those feelings, though apparently contradictory to one another, go to heighten the feeling of craving in his heart and thus eventually add to the beauty of the chief sentiment of love.

Similarly in the verse 188, the first line contains शृङ्गार manifestly, but the predominant sentiment is शान्त and शृङ्गार is subordinate to it; hence it does not mar the effect of शान्त, but on the other hand, enhances its effect.

According to ध्वनिकार (the author of ध्वन्यालोक) a slight appearance of a rival रस creates a beautiful atmosphere and attracts the attention of listless readers

(2) Another method of avoiding the fault of the mention of a contradictory रस is this: the two रसs should have different subjects; the description of the hero may contain one रस and its rival रस may be shown in connexion with the description of the प्रतिनायक (i. e. the rival of the hero). As for instance, in the verse 189:—

" Hearing the twanging of the bow of Arjun, there was a great commotion in the city of the demons; and the wives of the demons despaired of their lives.

(3) The third method of avoiding this fault is to describe these rival रसs seperately, by bringing in another friendly रस.

For instante in नागानन्द Act I, the atmosphere is of शान्तरस. If immediately after this, शृङ्गार would have been introduced, there would have been the fault of introducing rival रस; therefore, between these two रसs अद्भुतरस (sentiment of wonder) is introduced and as it a friendly रस, the effect of शृङ्गार is not marred.

Even in one sentence the rival रसs may be brought together by putting, in the middle, some friendly रस. For instance in the following verses (191/192/193), the phrase भूरेणुदिग्धान् meaning: "the bodies of the warriors killed on the battle-field were covered with dust", contains बीभत्सरस (sentiment of loathing) and the phrase मालारजोवासितबाहुमध्याः (their arms were scented with the pollen of garlands) contains शृङ्गार, but because these two रसs are contradictory, the phrase वीराःस्वदेहान् etc. containing the friendly वीररस is introduced between these two rival रसs and hence there is no fault. Here the words containing वीररस are not actually between the two रसs (बीभत्स and शृङ्गार); but the context clearly shows that the वीररस does intervene between the two रसs and besides the word स्वदेहान् shows that all the phrases, in the verses quoted, go to form one big sentence.

(4) The last method of avoiding this fault is to make one रस predominant and another subordinate. This subordinate position of a contrary रस may either be natural or deliberate. For instance, in विप्रलम्भशृङ्गार (sentiment of love in seperation) व्याधि (disease) and others though likely to give rise to बीभत्स are, by their very nature, parts of the विप्रलम्भशृङ्गार and as such can never mar the effect of that रस. These things (व्याधि and others) are, by their very nature, parts of करुण too.

Sometimes, the indicators of a contrary रस are brought near the predominant रस, but because these indicators (of the rival रस) are not powerful enough to develop the rival रस, they are subordinated to the main रस.

Sometimes, two contrary रसs are brought under and subordinated to a third रस (which in that verse occupies a prominent place). In this case, the two rival रसs though brought together do not give rise to this poetic fault (of रसप्रातिकूल्य.)

For instance, in the verse 194 the fire of the cities burnt by Shankar is described as clinging to the bodies of the wives of demons (living in those cities). Now this fire is compared to a repentant lover who is being spurned by his beloved on account of his grave offence in playing false to her.

The description of the terrible fire of the three cities gives rise to रौद्ररस. The description of a prostrate lover gives rise to शृङ्गार. These two are rival रसs and as such cannot be brought together. But because both these रसs are subordinated to the feeling of wonder and reverence for God Shankar, there is no fault in this verse.

Now here a question arises as to how two rival रसs can possibly be brought together without commiting the fault of रसप्रातिकूल्य.

The answer as given by हेमचन्द्र is as follows:—

The fault lies in introducing a rival रस newly i. e. in a new statement. If the rival रस is brought in a sentence merely by way of repeating a statement already made elsewhere then there is no fault. eg.

In the verse 195 which means:—

The rich play with the beggars who are possessed of the ghost of hope. Every time the rich order the beggars thus : 'Come along, go, fall down, get up, speak, be silent.'

Here in this verse 'Come and go' are contradictory things but because all these contradictory things are subordinated to the verb क्रीडन्ति, there is no fault in having these contradictory statements in the same verse.

अनुवाद would thus almost mean subordination to another thing which is the principal thing.

If the statements in sentences can thus be subordinated to a third statement it follows as a matter of course that रसs containing those statements also can be subordinated to a रस which is principal.

Now in the verse 194 quoted above, we can as well say that the chief sentiment in the poem is त्रिपुरप्रभावातिशय (i. e. the great prowess of Shankar and the admiration the poet feels for this) and करुणरस is subordinated to this. Now the शृङ्गार which also is suggested in the verse is subordinate to this करुण, but it ultimately, along with करुण, becomes subordinate to the all-powerful अद्भुतरस (the admiration of the prowess of Shankar); or we explain thus:—

First we find that there is शृङ्गार in the verse (194) because the words आलिङ्गन् etc. and कामीवार्द्रापराधः clearly suggest शृङ्गार. But as we read the verse as a whole and come to शांभवोवः शराग्निः, we find that the bodies of the women demons, being burnt by the fire, vividly suggest करुणरस which is the predominant रस in this verse. The शृङ्गारस, thus, rears its head in the beginning

but as soon as the statement of the tragic fate of the demons comes to the forefront, this शृङ्गाररस begins to vanish and ultimately its remembrance only heightens the effect of करुण by sheer contrast. Thus there is no fault of रसप्रातिकूल्य in the present verse. A parallel verse in this connexion is 'अयं स रसनोत्कर्षी' etc. as quoted already on page 152 in which the शृङ्गार in the words पीनस्तनविमर्दनः etc. is entirely subordinated to the predominant करुणरस.

The same is the case in the following verse (196).

On your body full of horripilation the lioness made marks of her teeth and nails, with the desire of drinking your blood–(रक्तमनसा). These marks were seen by other sages almost with a sense of envy.

Here, apparently, the whole picture seems to be that of a man being caressed by an amorous woman and looked at with an envious eye by other persons. But on second thought and on the strength of the context the whole atmosphere of शृङ्गार vanishes, giving place to शान्तरस which is undoubtedly the principal रस in this verse. Here the शृङ्गार is not only not contradictory to the शान्तरस but definitely heightens its effects.

If, however, the rival रस mars the effect of the predominant रस by making an outrageously bold appearance, then there is the fault of रसप्रातिकूल्य, as for instance in the verse 197.

Here when we read the verse, we forget that ताडका was killed by Rama, but the complete pun raises before us the picture of a woman going to meet her lover with due decorations of her body.

Thus the predominant करुणरस in this verse is weakened by the agressive शृङ्गार, instead of being heightened.

In the following sutra (3) हेमचन्द्र gives a list of another set of रसदोषs (faults with regard to रस). These faults are as follows—विभावानुभावक्लेशव्यक्ति etc. The first of these is

(1) विभावानुभावक्लेशव्यक्ति. It occurs, as the very name shows, where the विभाव and अनुभाव (the producer and the indicator of a रस) are not clearly shown; where the reader finds these out with great difficulty.

This fault is illustrated in the verse 198:

"My joy vanishes; my power of reasoning disappears; a strange condition overpowers my body etc.."

Here the reader is puzzled to know whether this is a description of करुणरस or the strange state of body and mind which a lover experiences (thus suggesting शृङ्गाररस.)

The following verse illustrates the same fault:—

"The youth saw the woman beautifully dressed, at a time when the moon whitened the whole world with its bright rays."

Here the moon-rise is the उद्दीपन विभाव of शृङ्गार, and it helps to develop the sentiment of love. The appearance of a beautiful woman is also an आलम्बन विभाव. But these two विभावs do not end in actually indicating the शृङ्गार created in the mind of the youth. Thus the अनुभावs of शृङ्गार being absent or rather not clearly discernible here, the fault of विभावानुभावक्लेशव्यक्ति occurs in this verse.

The second fault is,

(2) पुनःपुनर्दीप्तिः i. e. to try to heighten superfluously a रस which has already attained its perfection and has been tasted by the readers. This attempt is as disgusting as the attempt of smelling a faded flower with a renewed passion.

Thus in कुमारसंभव (IVth canto) in the first few verses, the poet has succeeded in creating and developing करुणरस fully. But unfortunately, after a lull, he again tries to inflame it—but the attempt ends in fiasco.

(3) The third fault is अकाले प्रथनम् i. e. introducing a रस at an inopportune moment.

Thus in वेणीसंहार (2nd act) दुर्योधन, in spite of his deep grief at the death of भीष्म and other eminent warriors, indulges in a love-talk with his wife भानुमती.

(4) The fourth fault is अकाण्डे छेदः i. e. abruptly cutting short a रस which is in its full swing.

For instance, in रत्नावली (IVth act) the king hears the account of विजयवर्मा evidently forgetting रत्नावली.

Another instance is in महावीरचरित. There in the second act, Rama is ready to fight with परशुराम and thus there is a tense atmosphere of वीररस, but all of a sudden, Rama says: "Let me go to untie my marriage-thread." Thus the वीररस fails miserably.

The अङ्ग i. e. either a subordinate रस or description of a thing which is only of a secondary importance, should not be developed or described at full length, otherwise it becomes a fault. For instance, in हयग्रीववध the description of हयग्रीव is unnecessarily lengthy. In the same manner when the विप्रलम्भशृङ्गार is the chief रस, a poet should not *indulge in the description of a sea, a forest and other* such things merely to show his mastery over the figures of speech उपमा, रूपक and others. Thus the author of हरिविजय, in course of his description of the seperation of Krishna from सत्यभामा, unnecessarily introduces the description of the sea and other such things merely to parade his skill in Rhetorics. Similarly, in कादम्बरी, a grand prose-poem with विप्रलम्भ as the predominant

रस, the author betrays a strange fancy for a description of the utterely useless things such as a forest, a city, kings etc.

Even in हर्षचरित, बाण, the author, introduces the history of his own family without any propriety and thus renders useless the big introductory portion of his book. Even माघ the author of शिशुपालवध, has not escaped from this fault. In his poem, the chief sentiment is वीर. The development of शृङ्गार with all its attendants such as water-sports, forest-sports etc., is therefore, thoroughly out of place in this poem. The poet, however, has devoted cantos aftes cantos to this description. All this militates against the development of the chief रस and thus results in the fault of रसप्रातिकूल्य.

On the other hand, the chief sentiment must be developed to the fullest extent. If there is a break in its development it leads to a fault. Continuity of the development of a रस is the essence of poetic beauty. For instance, in तापसवत्सराज (can this work be the same as स्वप्नवासदत्ता of भास ?) the love for वासवदत्ता is the chief sentiment. This has heen, most properly, maintained unbroken by the author throughout the six acts.

Sometimes some authors indulge in developing useless things and setting aside the chief thing. Thus in कर्पूरमञ्जरी, the king appreciates the description of spring as made by the bards and totally disregards its description made by the heroine as well as himself.

Similarly, as regards the characters: if they are human, they ought to be treated as human, if supernatural or divine, as supernatural or divine. If the treatment of these characters is done in a contrary manner, it offends against the development of a रस. A

particular character is as a rule fond of a particular रस. This rule must be strictly observed.

Thus the sentiments of love, grief, laughter and wonder are common to men as well as divine beings. But even here, in case of divine beings, the सम्भोगशृङ्गार (physical love) should never be described. If a poet indulges in such a description, it will be as highly improper as to describe the love-amours of one's own parents. Thus कालिदास has really offended against this rule, when he described in details the love-amours of Shankar and Parvati in the eighth canto of कुमारसंभव. Of course, the description, being full of poetic beauty, is not so repugnant as it would have been, if an ordinary poet would have indulged in it.

The sentiment of wrath should be described as very effective and quick in its results. For instance, in कुमारसंभव the burning of cupid by the fire of Shankar's eye is described as being quick and effective. This is highly poetical.

The sentiment of wonder should be handled very carefully. The wonders shown should be natural to the characters. If for instance supernatural wonders are said to be effected by a human character, it will create a sense of unreality in the minds of the readers who, in that case, will hesitate to imitate the ideal hero.

The forms of address as regards different characters in a poem or a play have been fixed by Rhetoricians. For instance, a king must be addressed as भट्टारक by his servants only, not by noble or highclass characters. Such and other rules must be strictly observed.

In short, propriety is the essence of poetic beauty. It contributes to the development of a रस. Propriety

as regards place, time, age, caste, dress and others has been defined and illustrated in minutest details by हेमचन्द्र in his commentary which the readers may read with advantage.

Impropriety, as the author of ध्वन्यालोक rightly says, is the serious cause of the handicap of a रस.

In the following sutras, the author mentions the faults of a word. They are two-fold:—

(1) निरर्थकत्वम् uselessness. No unnecessary word should be used in a poem. For instance, the words च वै तु हि should never be used unless they are necessarily required in the context. For instance i,n verse (201) हि in the last line is absolutely useless.

कांदिशीक=frightened. दर dread.

Even the fraction of a word should not be useless. For instance, in the following verse (No. 202):—

The woman is whetting (पानकर्म) the arrows of cupid, first by the fire of seperation in her heart, then by her eyes (hot with grief) then by the hot tears.

Here the word दृशाम् in plural serves no purpose.

If दृक् means the movement of an eye, as is found in the verse (203) from अमरुशतक, then there is no fault.

In यमक and other figures of words, निरर्थकत्व is not regarded as a fault by some. For instance, in the verse quoted from शिशुपालवध, च, खलु and others, though superfluous, are not to be condemned as faulty.

(2) असाधुत्व occurs when the word used is ungrammatical.

For instance, in the verse (205) from किरातार्जुनीय:— अर्जुन, coming out of the river of arrows, as a crocodile comes up from the Ganges, struck with his two hands at the chest of Shankar.

Here आजघ्ने is grammatically wrong. The root हन is used in Atmanepada, only when the thing struck is one's own limb.

All imitations are innocent. Therefore, if ungrammatical words are used with a view to quote the words of others, there is no fault of असाधुत्व.

In the following sutra, the author mentions thirteen faults of a sentence, out of which

(1) the first is विसन्धि.

Two vowels combined or a vowel and a consonant joined together or two consonants joined together form a सन्धि. If two vowels are brought together without joining (even when it is so sanctioned by grammarians) it is a fault. If the Sandhi is deliberately dropped, then there is a still greater fault.

For instance, in the verse 206 कमलेइव, though perfectly grammatical, is bad.

In sentences in which संहिता i. e. joining vowels or consonants is necessary, it is bad not to join them.

Even the feet of a verse yield to this rule of Sandhi. There is, however, a choice as to the joining of vowels or consonants at the end of the second foot.

अश्लीलत्व is the next fault. When the words, even when used in their ordinary senses, suggest some sense which is loathesome or indecent, there is अश्लीलत्व.

For instance, in 208 विरेचकम् is an adjective of नृत्य and it means one in which the movemens of the neck and other limbs are absent. आचार्याभास i. e. a bad dancing master. विरेचक, however, has another sense which means ' one that makes a man purge ' and as such is loathesome. Similarly in आचार्याभास, the word याभ means ' a sexual act ' and hence the word is indecent.

In the following line (209) the words शेप पुरीष and महाद्रुम are indecent, loathesome and inauspicious respectively. महाद्रुम is a large tree which is used as gallows for thieves and other criminals.

The next fault is कष्टत्व, as illustrated in the verse 210. The संधिs, here, have rendered the sentence full of harsh words.

If, however, these harsh words, difficult to pronounce, are used deliberately to imitate the words of a child, a woman or a fool, there is no fault.

न्यूनपदत्व is a fault which occurs when words that are quite necessary to the context are dropped. For instance, in the verse: 'तथाभूतां दृष्ट्वा नृपसदसि पाञ्चालतनयाम्' । etc. the word अस्माभिः is necessary in the second line. Similarly, the word इत्थं is necessary in the beginning of the fourth line. But they are not used and hence the fault of न्यूनपद. Similarly in the verse 211, अपराधलवम् is wrongly used. As it is, it means "what little offence"—which is absurd. The word "अपि" (even) must be added to suit the context and hence the fault of न्यूनपदत्व.

Similarly, in the verse 212 we see that in अयं नवजलधरः इदं सुरधनुः etc. the arrangement of words is this that the form of इदम् is used with the nouns; but in the last line no form of the word इदम् accompanies the word विद्युत् (such as इयं विद्युत्) and hence the fault. In the same manner in the verse 213:

" संहृतचक्राव्हजला विकसितकमला मृणालसंच्छन्ना ।
वापी वधूरिव विलिप्तस्तनका शोभते ॥ "

the उपमेयs मुख and बाहु, as against the उपमानs कमल and मृणाल respectively, are not mentioned actually and hence the fault of न्यूनपदत्व.

Sometimes, however, dropping of some words renders the verse more charming than when they are used. For instance, in 214, a woman in her sexual act addresses her lover with supreme joy and in her excitement utters broken sentences. But these broken sentences add to the beauty of the verse.

Sometimes, the omission of necessary words is neither a fault nor any merit. For instance in the verse,

"तिष्ठेत्कोपवशात् प्रभावपिहिता दीर्घं न सा कुप्यति" etc. from तिष्ठेत्... to प्रभावपिहिता, there is one sentence. After that, to make the sense clear, " नैतत् यतः " or some such words ought to follow. But they are not found, still the sense can easily be inferred; therefore, the omission of necessary words is neither good nor bad.

अधिकपदत्व is also a fault: no unnecessary words should be used in a verse or a sentence.

In the verse 215, for instance, the word आकृति is quite unnecessary;

Similarly, in " ताडीजङ्गो " etc. तत् is useless. In पाथेयवन्तः the termination वत् is unnecessary, for the बहुव्रीहि compound serves the purpose of वत्. Similarly, in अधीतिनीम् the termination इन् is unnecessary; in these two cases a बहुव्रीहि compound would as well serve the purpose. When तध्दित comes as a necessary thing, in spite of the compound already used, there is no fault; for instance, in the compound वार्त्रघ्नशरेभ्यः, the word वार्त्रघ्न means the children of वृत्रहन् i. e. Indra. Now, this sense cannot be conveyed by the compound, hence the necessity of the तद्धित form.

Similarly in the verse 225,

The word भ्रमरगणाः is superfluous; for correspondingly the word नीलरत्न is not used.

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In the verse 226 again, one of the two words तिलक or प्रमदा is necessary. But both used together mar the beauty of the उपमा or समासोक्ति.

In the रूपक that follows शोक is identified with अनल, but the word धूम does not give rise to any such metaphor and hence is superfluous.

In the following instance (228), by the words गगनोरग it is quite plain that the author intends to use the figure रूपक. इव therefore, in this sentence, is quite out of place.

In the following verse (*229*) दयितयेव is quite superfluous, for even without it, we find that the figure समासोक्ति renders the verse charming. दयितयेव, on the other hand, spoils the charm of समासोक्ति.

The same is the fault in the following verse (230). The beauty of the figure अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा is marred by the words प्रभुमिव in the verse. The sense of प्रभु ought to have been inferred not expressed. In fact the fourth line of the verse is quite unnecessary. The firstt hree lines containing the illustrations of मशक (mosquito) तृणमणि (amber) and खद्योत (glow-worm) prove the truth: " All common things are senseless " and suggest the senselessness of men of authority or power.

In the following verse, exactly the same fault occurs; for the whole trend of the figure अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा therein is to show the प्रस्तुत 'your honour'. भवानिव therefore, is redundunt.

But where a word is used or repeated to convey emphasis or to exclude other things, (अन्ययोगव्यवच्छेद) there is no fault.

For instance, in the verse 232 "न विदन्ति विदन्ति किन्तु" repetition of विदन्ति is quite necessary in order to show:

" they know most positively, know everything; they are not ignorant of the vile tricks of the wicked etc."

उक्तपद is a fault which occurs when the same word is repeated in one and the same verse. A repetition betrays an author's lack of mastery over a language. For instance, in the verse 209 which means:—" Oh you beautiful woman! who is that fortunate man that has been installed on the throne of love-as is suggested by your pale cheek resting on your palm etc.", the word लीला is repeated. The poet ought to have used a synonym of the word लीला in the fourth line.

In लाटानुप्रास (alliteration), however, the repetition is permissible. For instance, in the verse 234, the word पूर्वाशा (eastern direction) is used twice but in different connexion.

Sometimes in शब्दशक्तिमूलध्वनि (specially अर्थान्तर संक्रमित-वाच्यध्वनि) the repetition of one and the same word is no fault at all, as for instance, in

"तदा जायन्ते गुणा यदा ते सहृदयैर्गृह्यन्ते।
रविकिरणानुगृहीतानि भवन्ति कमलानि कमलानि ॥"

the word कमलानि. On the strength of ध्वनि, the meaning of the second word कमल is totally changed and hence there is no fault. The last word कमल means fully-expanded beautiful lotuses.

When the repetition is made with a view to restate a thing already mentioned once, the repetition is not only justified, but is quite necessary. For instance, in the verse 236, विनयस्य साधनं जितेन्द्रियत्वम्; विनयाद् गुणप्रकर्षः etc. the words विनय, गुणप्रकर्ष etc. even though repeated are necessary.

The next fault is अस्थानस्थपदत्व. Every word has to be used in its proper place; otherwise it would convey absurd meaning.

In the verse 237, न काचित् विजहौ would mean "nobody gave up the garland." The words ought to be arranged thus: स्रजं काचिन्नजहौ: a certain woman did not throw away the garland.

In the following verse, (238), त्वंच " and you also " is the sense desired. च, therefore, must be placed after त्वम्. This is said by शंकर in the disguise of an ascetic to Parvati :—Two things have been rendered pitiable by the contact of Shankar–you and the moon.

In the following verse इत्थं प्रोच्येव is the proper arrangement. Similarly in the verse 240 which means: your sword (beloved) has embraced the enemies and is polluted by untouchables (elephants) etc. the figure is व्याजस्तुति. Apparently the king is censured, but inwardly he is praised. 'इति श्रीनियोगात्' would be the proper construction.

In the following verse (241) even without the word यद्, the word तद् is used. The rule is यत्तदोर्नित्यसंबंधः.

In the verse 242 the word श्रवणानाम् ought to have come first. The sense is:—The ears undergo an amount of trouble in carrying the ear-rings, but the ear-rings decorate the cheeks not the ears...sometimes the deserving do not get the merited prize. According to the dictum: " no sentence should be left unfinished after the half of a verse ", श्रवणानाम् ought to have been placed in the first half of the verse.

In the verse 243,

" प्राप्तनितम्बस्पर्शा स्नानोत्तीर्णायाः श्यामलाङ्गयाः ।
जलबिन्दुकैश्चिकुरा रुदन्ति बन्धस्येव भयेन ॥ "

the hair of the woman is fancied to be weeping, as it were, by means of the drops of water, as if with the fear of being bound.

There are thus two उत्प्रेक्षाs here, but the chief

and the important उत्प्रेक्षा is on the word रुदन्ति. Hence the word इव, indicating उत्प्रेक्षा, must be placed near रुदन्ति and not with बन्धस्य—hence the fault of अस्थानस्थपद.

The कारिका, quoted below, supports the view of our author:–" When there are many उत्प्रेक्षाs the word indicative of उत्प्रेक्षा must come with that उत्प्रेक्षा which is the most important.

पतत्प्रकर्षः is a fault which occurs when the style offends against uniformity and propriety. For instance, in the verse 244 in the first line the poet has indulged in the अनुप्रास of घ; in the second line the अनुप्रास is with the word क; but in the third line the course of अनुप्रास is suddenly cut short—there is a fall (पतत्) in the development (प्रकर्ष) of अनुप्रास and hence the fault पतत्प्रकर्ष. In point of using compounds also this verse is faulty; for with the सूकर the compound 'घुर्घुरायित etc.' is quite all right, but how is it that there is no compound in the description of करी ? Again in the fourth line which deals with सिंह in love with his mate, there should be no compound. Thus we see that the verse is faulty from another point of view also.

Sometimes, प्रतत्प्रकर्ष is a merit as in the following verse (245). Here the first three lines contain a challenge by परशुराम and is full of heroic sentiment–and as such the style is full of compounds. But in the fourth line the poet has avoided, quite properly, a compound (which was due in its proper course), for the line contains a respectful reference to God Shankar and hence the style ought to be not harsh but soft.

समाप्तपुनरात्त is the next fault which, as the very name shows, occurs when after completing any statement, some words are used to qualify the statement–contrary

to the expectation of the readers. For instance, in the verse (226), the poet, in the first three lines, makes the statement that it is impossible to describe the various qualities of the king वीरचूडामणि (who is the best of heroes). Thus the sense is quite complete, but in an absurd way the poet again states the same thing in another way and hence the fourth line appears like a superfluous tail attached to the main statement–hence the fault. But where the statement is not supplemented, but quite a new statement is made, there is no fault, as in the verse 245 above.

अविसर्गत्वम् is a fault when the dropping of विसर्ग is carried to excess—as in 247.

हतवृत्तत्वम् is another fault: when a verse is composed in a faulty manner and does not strictly observe the rules of metre, when the proper stops in the metre are not observed, when the last word of every line is not गुरु, when the metre is not in harmony with the रस which it contains, the fault of हतवृत्तत्वम् occurs.

For instance, in the verse 248 the metre is वैतालीय, but the second foot offends against the rules of that metre.

The following two lines offend against the rule of यति. The author refers, in this connexion, to his another work छन्दोऽनुशासनम् and turns to other faults.

अश्रव्यम् (bad for mere reading) is another thing which leads to the fault of हतवृत्तत्वम्. For instance, in the verse 251 'यदिहाम्यस्स्वादु' is a queer set of words harsh and meaningless when uttered.

In the verse 252, in "वस्त्राणि च" च ought to be long, according to the rules of prosody and hence the fault. वस्त्राण्यपि would be the proper correction.

In the verse 253, the metre is दोधक–a light jolly dancing metre, always used for describing merry things. But here the verse contains a description of the lamentation of the relatives of a dead prince, hence the fault.

The next fault is संकीर्णत्वम्

It occurs when the words of two or more sentences are so mixed up together that nothing but hopeless nonsense is made out of the words as they stand.

For instance in the verse 254

काकं खादति क्षुधितः कूरं क्षिपति निर्भरं रुष्टः।
शुनकं गृण्हाति कण्ठे भीषयति च नप्तारं स्थविरः॥

Here the proper arrangement is : निर्भर रुष्टः स्थविरः काकं क्षिपति; कूरं (boiled rice) खादति, शुनकं भीषयति (frightens) नप्तारं कण्ठे गृण्हाति। (embraces.)

क्लिष्ट is different from संकीर्ण in that in the former, absence of proper sense, owing to the position of words in it, is seen in one sentence.

But when sentences come in a string, as in dialogues there is no fault of संकीर्णत्वम् as in the famous verse बाले नाथ etc.

गर्भितत्त्व is the next fault which occurs when in one sentence, another is inserted paranthetically. This may be a grace of style in English but is regarded as a fault in Sanskrit. For instance in the verse 256, the sentence 'वदामि भवतस्तत्त्वम्' thrusts itself unnecessarily in the main sentence परापकार etc.

But when the speaker is in the flurry of some emotion, such interpolations render a grace to the style. For instance in the verse 257 : which means :—" The whole earth was conquered by परशुराम! (even while we describe his exploits, we are thrilled with wonder).

That earth he gave over to the Brahmins. This wonderful story of परशुराम started with him and died with him ! ", ' वदन्तएव ' comes in the main string of sentences, but it shows a great excitement on the part of the speaker and hence it is no fault.

भग्नप्रक्रमत्वम् occurs when there is a break in uniformity or harmony. As a rule, we should begin a statement with a particular word and end with the same word or a word in perfect harmony with it; otherwise the introduction of a strange word jars upon the ears of the readers and hence the fault, as illustrated in 258. here in the words उक्त and प्रत्यभाषत there is no harmony. The second word ought to be प्रत्यवोचत. Similarly in 259, तद्विसृष्टाः is faulty, for the trend of every sentence is to have ते as the subject. in तद्विसृष्टाः तत् is related with अस्मै and does not refer to ते, hence the fault.

Similarly in 260 "when अर्जुन started for his penance, his brothers did not feel the grief (of seperation) for they were full of fortitude; they relied upon the words of व्यास; their hearts were burning with anger for their enemies; and they knew the prowess of अर्जुन. ", धैर्येण is the first word used in instrumental to show the reason of their not being grieved; naturally we expect all the words showing reasons in instrumental; in मन्योः therefore, there is प्रक्रमभङ्गः

Similarly in 261 भस्मैव is the first word used in nominative, कपालमेव is, therefore, quite all right. But the स्य in गजाजिनस्य breaks the uniformity. It ought to be गजेन्द्रचर्मैव (nominative), to keep the uniformity. Similarly in verse 262, the army used and enjoyed the waters of the mountain-rivers in a variety of ways and thus removed

the stigma of the rivers of not being used or enjoyed. The verbs सस्नुः पपुः etc. are used with every new sentence. But this trend is broken in धृतविकासिबिसप्रसूनाः. We must, therefore, break this compound in a sentence and say: विकचमस्य दधुः प्रसूनम्, otherwise it will be faulty.

Again in the verse 263 which means "Success favours those who strive hard in order to achieve fame or to secure happiness, or to surpass all men," the trend is to use infinitives such as अधिगन्तुम्, but in सुखलिप्सया the poet breaks this order and hence the fault of प्रक्रमभङ्ग. Instead, we should read सुखमीहितुं वा. Similarly in the verse 264, the poet begins with the word उदन्वत्, but in the very next sentence he refers to the sea by the word अपांनिधिः. This is wrong. Instead, he should say:

'मिताः भूः पत्यापां स च पतिरपां योजनशतम्'

The same fault of using different words in the same context is seen in 265. "Adversity overpowers a coward. No prospect for those that are overpowered by adversity. No greatness for persons without prospects; and no throne for a person who is not great. Here विपद् is the first word, but it is changed to आपत् and लघुता is changed to अगरीयान्. Again in the first sentence विपद् is the subject and the king is the object; but in the last sentence अगरीयान् नृपः (king) is the subject. This is प्रक्रमभङ्ग. Similarly in 266 हेगौरि is vocative sing., but in युष्मत्प्रसादेन, युष्मद is plural; hence the प्रक्रमभङ्ग.

Again in the verse 267: कृतवान् असि is an active participle, but (मया न) कृतम् is past passive participle, this is प्रक्रमभङ्गः

The same is the fault in the verse 268. " Beauty decked their bodies; budding youth decked that beauty; the charm of love decked the youth; passion decked that love; and union decked the passion." Here the

trend is this that the subject in one sentence becomes the object in the following sentence, but in the last sentence, दयितसंगमभूषः is used instead of तमपि वल्लभसङ्गः and hence the fault. Similarly in 269 विसृजति इन्दुः अग्निम् is the trend; but in the 4th line (त्वं वज्रसारीकरोषि) त्वं has a different order in that the sentence has no object and hence the fault.

Again in the verse 270 which means:—" When this sage is advancing angrily towards me–sage with the power of valour and penance, I feel a desire to encounter him as well as to fall at his feet," पादोपसंग्रहणाय must be placed at the beginning of the third line, for that act is prompted by the greatness of the sage's penance which is mentioned first. In the verse 271, the trend is to condemn the उपमानs by showing the excellence of उपमेयs, but in the last sentence भवतु च द्विचन्द्रं नभः, द्विचन्द्रं becomes an adjective of नभः. In reality it ought to be (नभः द्विचन्द्रं भवतु) a predicate. Similarly in 272 तद्वक्त्रं यदि मुद्रिता शशिकथा the whole trend is to show the excellence of उपमेयs. But in the last line meaning that the creater creates superflous things, the general proposition conveys the idea of resemblance not excellence, hence the fault.

If however a particular order is not broken, there is no fault of प्रक्रमभङ्ग. For instance in 273 " When a warrior started for the battlefield, his little boy began asking him where he was going. This question being inauspicious, his mother remonstrated with him for asking it. Enraged at this, the boy stammered forth the word व्रजसि instead of क्व व्रजसि. But the the father understood purport of the question and became dis-spirited with the dread of superstition.

Here the proper root to be used is व्रज. But वज् is the root used. But as the speaker here is a child, his वज् really means व्रज् and hence there is no fault of प्रक्रमभङ्ग.

The next fault is अनन्वितत्वम्. It is nothing but incompatibility or absence of connexion which ends in absurdity or superfluity. For instance, in 274 the statement is that the difference between a sword and a miser is only in आकार. Now what is this आकार? If it means a form, the difference in form is patent, it need not be told; if it means the difference between the syllables आ and अ, this is only a difference in writing those two words, it has nothing to do with the two actual things a sword and a miser.

Similarly, in the verse 275 which means that king दशरथ killed the lions, for he could not tolerate their title of राजन् (i. e. मृगराज), the use of the word राजशब्द is absurd, for it neither fits in with मृगाणाम् nor with तेषां nor with वीर्योदग्र; for the word शब्द cannot go with things. The best way, therefore, to avoid this fault is to read राजभावः instead of राजशब्दः or to change मृगाणां into मृगेषु. Similarly in the verse 276 which means:—"What have the demons done to gratify you? the demons who, with the intense heat of their valour, have dried up the river of ichor of ऐरावत, who drank wine under the shade of trees in नन्दन; and who with their threats created panic in Indra." येषां यैः etc. can be used independently, but तैः cannot be used without the qualified word क्षपाचारिन्; for the rule is that the noun accompanying यत् cannot be taken along with तत्, but a word accompanying तत् can be taken as understood with यद्; therefore, क्षपाचारिभिः is the correct reading. यैः may be followed by तैः but येषां क्षपा-

चारिणाम् cannot necessarily be followed by तेषां क्षपाचारिणाम् ; the word क्षपाचारिन्, therefore, must be definitely used with तैः Similarly in 277, the word वापी is feminine, विमलं व्योम is neuter and hence the incompatibility between the उपमान and उपमेय. विमलं, as it stands, cannot go with वापी, because the latter is feminine. It is true that we can take the adjective विमल with वापी by the process of लिङ्गविपरिणाम, but then in that case there will be the fault of वाक्यभेद—two independent sentences. This will delay the understanding of the sense. Even supposing that the sense in such cases is clear, such contrivances are good in places other than poetry.

In verse 279, however, स्वामिना and नटत्वेन are both in the instrumental case and hence though the words differ in genders, they agree in case and hence no अनन्वितत्वम्. When the common adjective is not used but there are only the उपमान and उपमेय, there is no fault.

The incompalibility of tenses and numbers also lead to this fault. For instance, in the verse 282 आप is the verb with the उपमेय, कुमुद्वती; but if it is taken with the उपमान (चेतना), the statement becomes absurd as चेतना always has प्रसाद-not that it had got प्रसाद.'

Similarly in 263, meaning " you appear just like a creeper, now that you have taken your bath just now etc." विभ्राजसे is wrong, for it is all good with the उपमेय, त्वम् (you), but ill-fits in with लता, for लता is in third person and विभ्राजसे is in second person.

Again in गङ्गेव प्रवहतु ते कीर्तिः, प्रवहतु can not go with गङ्गा as गङ्गा has been actually flowing since thousands of years, and hence the fault.

Now follows a list of eight faults occuring both in words and sentences.

अप्रयुक्तत्वम् is, (1) to use a word not used by standard authors, (2) to use a word found only in abstruse sciences such as grammar or is found only in dictionary.

For instance, "धृष्टुता" is a slang word and should not be used in poetry. All the देश्य (non-Sanskrit) words not yielding to any etymology, should be avoided.

अप्रयुक्तत्वम् is not a fault when the speaker is a fool or a jester or intends a joke or humour; for instance, the words स्वस्ति देव in 286, are wrong, they ought to be स्वस्ति देवाय. The speaker here pretends silliness. In 288 the speaker is विदूषक, and hence the words कलम भक्त etc. though slang are permissible. Even in a sentence अप्रयुक्तत्व is seen, as in the verse 287 the words गल्ल मल्ल etc. The use of words found in grammar or dictionary also leads to अप्रयुक्तत्व. For inst. दैवतः (m.) is found only in grammar.

Similarly in the verse 290 the word आशय, meaning 'craving' is an abstruse word and is found used only in योगशास्त्र.

Again in 291, the root इन् 'to go' is an instance of अप्रयुक्तत्वम्, as it is never used by standard authors, but is only found in grammar or dictionary.

In 292, the word गौः used in the sense of 'an eye' is obscure. But in the verse 293, the speaker is a man well-versed in all sciences, and the hearer is equally well-versed, therefore, scientific terms such as स्कन्धपञ्चकम् are used. In puns, abstruse words may be used. For instance in 294, शशिभृत् harasser of the moon, and क्षय=house are obscure words, but are permissible in puns. In 295 the words अधिमात्रा, उपाय, etc. are scientific terms and hence the fault of अप्रयुक्तत्वम् in a sentence.

But 296 which means:—" Oh king ! In this winter, owing to the shortage of clothes, we cannot fully lie down (संप्रसारण) as the roots यज् and others have no संप्रसारण when they are not कित्", both the speaker and the hearer are, men of science, hence there is no fault in using abstruse words.

The fault of अश्लीलत्व is three-fold :—अश्लीलत्वः Indecency.

(1) that which causes a sense of shame in the minds of the hearers.

(2) that which creates loathing.

(3) that which causes a sense of inauspiciousness.

For instance, in the verse 297 साधनम्, meaning male or female organ, is a word which is indecent.

Similarly in the verse 298, वायुं ददता means passing wind from below, and hence it creates loathing.

In the verse 299 विनाश (meaning both disappearance and death) is an inauspicious word.

All these are instances found in single words. In the following verses there are many such words.

For instance, in the verse 300, उपसर्पण, प्रहणन and मोहन are words suggesting the sense of the sexual act.

In the following verse 301, वान्त (vomitted) उत्सर्ग (purging) etc. create loathing.

In the verse 302 the words पितृगृह (suggesting cemetary) and पावक (suggesting funeral fire) are inauspicious.

When, however, the context requires the use of these words, there is no fault. Thus in the verse 303 the words करिहस्त, संबाध, ध्वजः all indicate a sexual act, but fit in with the context.

When the context is of the sentiment of शान्त or utter repugnance to the world, the sense of loathing is agreeable to it, hence in the verse 304 the graphic

description of the female organ, in its loathesome aspect, fits in with the subject.

Similarly, in the verse निर्वाणवैरदहना: "let the कौरवs die etc." is a suggestion which is deliberately meant by the dramatist and hence the inauspiciousness of death is not faulty.

असमर्थ is another fault. When a word is not able to convey the sense for which it is used or when its sense is dubious i. e. ambiguous, the fault of असमर्थ ocurs.

For instance in the verse 306, in दग्धं दिनम्, "the day though full of light is cursed" the word दिन is unable to convey the sense, 'a day full of light', for it means only 'a day'.

Similarly, in the following verse which contains a grand metaphor thus:—The feet of भवानी are the lotuses; her loveliness is the well; her thighs are the stalks; the rays of her nails are the filaments; the red dye is the blossom; the anklets are the bees etc., the word दधत् 'holding' is used in the sense of 'creating'–a sense which it can not convey. In the verse 308 meaning "Your preceptor is Shankar; you have conquered कार्तिकेय; the ocean is your house; the earth is given over by you as a gift; but as your परशु has killed your mother, my sword चन्द्रहास is ashamed to fight with it," the word विजेय (=conquerable) is used in the sense of 'conquered' and hence the fault.

In 309th verse in which अश्वत्थामा compares the war-cry with the thundering of clouds, the word रव is used in the sense of 'a loud roar'; but it usually means 'the sound of a frog.'

Hence it is clear that words having a peculiar or a technical sense, if used elsewhere, lead to this fault.

Of course, when its use is quite appropriate and fits in with the context, there is no fault. For instance: in the verse 310, चुकूजे which usually means 'cackled' or cooed is here used in its peculiar sense of 'a peculiar sound made at the time of a sexual act' and is quite appropriate.

However, in the verse 311 नागयूथमलिनानि is a faulty compound, for what is here required is a comparision between the troops of elephants and the mass of darkness. But this compound drowns the उपमान नागयूथ, and gives predominance to the dark colour of the darkness, and hence it is अवाचक. The word मलिन also cannot convey the sense of 'like or similar to.' Similarly in the verse 312 which describes a blue lotus as being ashamed of itself by the beauty of a woman's eye, the word यथा cannot convey the sense of 'as it were' for which it is meant; for it always means 'like' and hence the fault of अवाचक.

In the verse 313, meaning "with what object in view does the lion challenge a cloud ? The great never tolerate the rise of others," the figure is अर्थान्तरन्यास. Now for a general statement, the word महीयस् ought to be in plural, otherwise it would mean 'only one great man,' hence it has the fault of अवाचक.

But in the verse 314 महीयांसः (plu.) is rightly used. In all such instances if any word conveying the sense of 'all' is used then there is no fault—as for instance, in 315 the word सर्वे means all.

The whole of the following verse is full of the fault of अवाचक; for the word आवहन्ति (=carry) is used in the sense of 'do' and प्रस्मरन्ति is used in the sense of 'forget'!

If the words are used in a quaint imaginary

sense conceived by the author himself and not likely to be understood by any other man, it is faulty. For instance in the verse 317 the word वचोवाणे: means गी:वाणे i. e.=गीर्वाणे: (i. e. gods). Now nobody but the author himself can understand the meaning of this word and hence it is असमर्थ. In some compound-words, usage requires that both the members should remain unchanged. In some the first member may be changed. Thus in वडवानल the word वडवा should not be changed. If it is changed, it would lead to this fault.

The verse 318 is an illustration of असमर्थ, not in one word but in the whole of the sentence: thus पंक्ति= दश (i. e. ten) नाम=वाक् and विहङ्गम=चक्र so चक्रभृत् means रथ; पंक्तिविहंगमनामभृत्= दशरथ (the king दशरथ) and his son is राम ! ! Similarly in उलूकजिता उलूक=कौशिक and कौशिक means इन्द्र; therefore उलूकजित् means इन्द्रजित् the son of रावण !

Every ambiguous word leads to this fault. For instance, in the verse 319 वन्द्याम् may mean 'a salute' वन्द्या or वन्दी a female bard and hence the ambiguity. Similarly in the verse 320 the word साधुचर: is ambiguous, for it may either mean a man who was formerly a sage' or 'a man who serves a sage'. If, however, the ambiguity heightens the charm of the sense, it is no fault, as in the verse 321 the words कालेनैव कठोरेण. This would mean 'the formidable time i. e. the Summer' and 'the Cruel Death' as well. The context requires both the senses.

In the following verse this fault is illustrated in a sentence (not merely in single words) thus:-

सुरालय means 'a temple' and a 'liquor-shop'

मार्गणप्रवण: means 'in quest of something' and 'discharging arrows'

भास्वद्भूति means 'all glorious' and 'fully besmeared with ashes'

The whole verse suggests the sense of a drunkard by its ambiguous words and hence the fault. When the ambiguity is deliberate and suggests some happy sense, it is no fault.

Thus in the verse 323 which means:

"Oh king! now our houses are exactly similar; for they have gold pots (कार्तस्वरपात्र), all the servants in them are decked with ornaments, and they are bristling with female elephants." The apparent sense deals with the praise of the king. But inwardly the poet is censuring the king for keeping him in poverty, for he says: 'My house is full of the crying (आर्तस्वर) of children (पृथुक); all the members of my family (भू+उषित) have to sleep on the bare ground; my house is full of dust.' As here the ambiguity is deliberate, it leads to no fault.

अनुचितार्थत्व is the next fault. It occurs when the words, used, convey a meaning totally against the context. For instance: पशुताम् उपागताः means "who have become animals in the sacrifice in the form of a battle. Now पशु almost means a timid animal such as goats and others. But the context requires the sense of valour and hence the fault is अनुचितार्थत्व.

In the following verse the king is compared to a dog, and in 326 the Sun to a spark of fire–both the similes militate against the sense of propriety or proportion and hence the fault.

In the verse 327 the creator is made a standard of comparison for a tiny चक्रवाक bird!

And in 328 the navel of a woman is compared to the vast nether worlds and her breasts to mountains —all instances of absurdity as regards proportion (अनौचित्य as it is technically called).

When however the incompalibility of two things compared, leads to a deliberate censure—it is no fault, as in 329 the moon is rightly condemned as a cruel untouchable, for she kills love-lorn ladies.

Thus we see that all cases of impropriety fall under this head अनुचितार्थ.

Thus in 331 which means:—This mountain (हिमालय) protects the darkness concealed like an owl in its caverns. The great regard persons who seek protection as their own. The figure अर्थान्तरन्यास here is needless, for it is not necessary to support a conceit which is professedly a conceit.

In the verse 332 the king is compared to a weaver weaving cloth, but it is said that in spite of this, his fame is without cloth, and hence the fault.

श्रुतिकटुत्व occurs when the words are jarring to the ears. This fault is peculiar to syllables.

For instance, in 333 कार्तार्थ्यम् is a jarring word.

Similarly in 334 चण्डि and द्राक् are harsh words. But when the words fit in with the speaker, there is no fault; for instance, in the verse 335 the speaker is a grammarian and, therefore may use such jarring words दीधीङ्, क्तिप्रत्यय etc.

The words अस्त्राक्षम् अद्राक्षम् used in the verse 336 are quite all right, for the verse is addressed to a grammarian. Similarly the hard-sounding words in the third line of the verse 337 are all quite right, for the context is the description of a lion.

Similarly the harsh and jarring words in the verse 338 are all appropriate, for the verse is an illustration of the sentiment of loathing (बीभत्स) which requires a style full of jarring words.

In the verse 339 the description of a shaken tree

requires that the construction should be full of harsh-sounding words and hence there is no fault.

Sometimes when there is no particular sentiment in a verse, harsh-sounding words may be used as in the verse 340 which means:—May the rays of the sun remove your evils; rays–that restore to health men who are mutilated, maimed, weak etc.

क्लिष्टत्व is the next fault which occurs when there is a delay in understanding the sense of a verse or a sentence owing to its faulty syntax or its clumsy construction.

For instance, the first line in the verse 341 is very clumsy and it is with great difficulty that we understand what it means. 'चन्द्रकान्तवेदिका' (i. e. seats of the moonstones. दक्षात्मजा = तारा. दयित = lover, so the whole compound means ' the moon. Again वल्लभ=कान्त therefore दक्षा...वल्लभ means चन्द्रकान्त and hence the whole line means the seats made of moon–stones.

The popular instance of क्लिष्टत्व is the verse 342 quoted by मम्मट and others.

The proper prose–order is given by हेमचन्द्र. It is very difficult to make out anything out of the verse at the first reading, hence it is an apt illustration of clumsiness.

अविमृष्टविधेयांश is one of the most prominent faults. Every sentence has something that is predicated of the subject. This predicate is the most important thing in a sentence and hence it must be given a prominent place in it. But if that predicate (विधेय) is not given a prominent place which is its due, then there is this fault of अविमृष्टविधेयांश.

For instance, in the verse 343 which means:—

" The body of Shankar is ugly, his birth is obscure

etc. Here ugly, obscure etc. are predicates (विधेय) but in the compound अलक्ष्यजन्मता, जन्मता i.e. the subject (अनुवाद्य) gets prominence and the predicate (विधेय) अलक्ष्य gets a secondary place and hence the fault. अलक्षिता जनिः is the proper reading. Similarly in 344 which describes Parvati adjusting her girdle that was slipping down, in द्वितीयमौर्वीमिव 'as if a second bow string (of the bow of cupid)', the predicate is द्वितीय 'second', but it is given a subordinate place by the compound and hence the fault.

In the following verse (345) in which राम after defeating परशुराम addresses him, अमोघ is the predicate and as such must be placed independently. अमोघमाशुगम् should, therefore, be the emended reading.

In 346 in मध्येव्योम, व्योम is prominent and hence it must be changed into मध्ये व्योम्नः.

Thus we see that the fault अविमृष्टविधेयांश occurs when there is no proper prominence given to a predicate in a sentence.

For instance, in 347 अनुक्तवान् really means 'did not speak'; the emphasis is on the idea of 'not' speaking, but as it stands the word means 'was mute'.

But in 348 there is no fault, for अत्रस्तः अनातुरः and other adjectives go with the subject सः; they are not predicates and hence do not require any prominent place.

In the verse 349 which enumerates all the merits of the forest life, the fault of अविमृष्टविधेयांश lies in the whole verse, there being quite a series of faults. The whole verse has a faulty construction. The proper order of words should be शाद्वलं शय्या; शुचिशिला आसनम्. The inverse order leads to the fault of अविमृष्टविधेयांश. The same fault is seen in the verse 350.

Similarly in 351 " That the lions are excited when

challenging the elephants and clouds (that are utterly insignificant) is but their nature. But the lion of अम्बिका is perfectly unperturbed with regard to the elephants and clouds. He is, therefore, the best lion ", योऽसौ appears like a part ot अनुवाद and hence सोऽसौ or something like that ought to go with अम्बिकाकेसरी.

In fact, it can very well be laid down as a rule that यद् must be followed by तद्. But even between the two, the word तद् is very important and should never be dropped. तद् shows

(1) a well-known thing e. g. कला च सा कान्तिमतः (कु. सं. ५)
(2) a thing familiar and experieneed e. g. ते लोचने प्रतिदिशम् (रत्नावली)
(3) a thing already shown by context e. g. in 354 ताभ्यां=नीतिशौर्याभ्याम् .

When यद् stands for the whole sentence and as such is placed in the beginning of a sentence, तद् may not be used, as in the verse 355: "That the lotuses closed at the sight of the lovely moon is but proper on their part; but that the moon rises in spite of the appearance of the lovely face of women is but a rash thing" (तद्) पुष्करैः साधु कृतम् . But in the first sentence, if यद् is used then तद् must be used in the following sentence.

Sometimes both these words (यद् तद्) are inferred from the context as in 356, here " सः कोऽपि etc. यं प्रति etc." was the expected construction; but even as the verse stands, it is not faulty.

तद् when necessary must be used. असौ can not represent तद् in such places. For instance, in the verse 357 in which the spring is compared to Hanuman by using adjectives common to both, (ताराधिप=(1) the moon. (2) सुग्रीव; in रामातुरदृष्टि the words are रामा and राम.). असौ

is used in the sense of सोऽयम् which is unwarranted. But if असौ is taken in the sense of तद् then in the verse 358 which means:—"Let the God Shankar protect you; Shankar the fire of whose wrath turned cupid into a burning किंशुक tree etc.", स in the fourth line would be redundant.

Now someone may say here that in the verse (359) which means:—"That man who sees the whole world as your body, is free from sorrow" etc., इदम् is used in the sense of तद्; but हेमचन्द्र's reply to this is:— If the words यद् and तद् have some intervening words between them, no representative word for तद् can be used; that is to say तद by itself must be used in such cases as it is done in 360.

Now it is true that in the verse 361 येन is followed directly or immediately by असौ and not by तेन as it ought to be. But हेमचन्द्र defends this case by saying that if the words यद and तद् are used in different cases इदम् or some such word may represent तद्.

The last instance of अविमृष्टविधेयांश is given in the verse 362 in which लक्ष्मण is wondering as to who is the cause of Rama's banishment. Can it be भरत or कैकेयी? he asks himself. Here in आर्यानुजः the emphasis is on the word आर्य and, therefore, that word must be prominently placed as आर्यस्य. Similarly in तातकलत्रम् the word तात is important and hence तातस्य must be used.

The next fault is विरुद्धबुद्धिकृत् which occurs when a word is so ambiguous that it creates a sense contrary to the one which the author intends to convey. For instance in the verse, 363 अम्बिकारमण is used by the author in the sense of 'God Shankar–the Lord of Parvati.' But it creates a strange sense 'the lover of

a mother'!! Hence such dangerously ambiguous words should be avoided.

Similarly in the following verse (364) the word मृडानीपरिवृढः is bad; for मृडानी itself means 'the wife of मृड (i. e. Shankar) and adding the word परिवृढ (lord) to it would mean the lover--paramour--of the wife of Shankar! The idea of the above verse is:—Indra with his thousand eyes fell at the feet of Shankar. कार्तिकेय who was standing near, mistook the eyes Indra for a garland of blue lotuses and tried to snatch them. Shankar, thereupon, began to laugh.

Similarly the word गलग्रहम् (in 365) would mean 'strangling' while it is really used in the sense of embracing!

In the verse 366 a host of such ambiguous words are used: अनुत्तम (bad) अपिहित (covered) अकार्य (evil deed) अ-पूर्त-कीर्तयः (i. e. अकीर्तयः i. e. infamy) are all strangely ambiguous.

When this ambiguity is deliberate and adds as such to the beauty of the verse, it is no fault. For instance, in the verse 367 the words अनुशय अभिमनाः माननाम् are all deliberately used—one set of words leading to the sense of peace and other set leading to the sense of war. The apparent meaning is:—शिशुपाल, after saying those unpalatable words, is now fully repentent, and eagerly wishes to pacify you who are angry with him. The inner meaning is:—शिशुपाल is now more indignant than before and wants to kill you.

In the following sutra is given a list of faults regarding sense. We had hitherto a list of faults with respect to words.

कष्टत्व is the first of these faults. When the construction is so very clumsy that no reader is able to understand the sense of the verse without great effort, the verse is said to have the fault of कष्टत्व. The instance in point is the verse 368 the full explanation of which has been given by हेमचन्द्र and it is quite right that he should give it, otherwise very few of the readers would have understood the verse.

अपुष्टार्थत्व which is the next in the list, is a fault which occurs when a statement which is not at all pertinent to the subject in hand is unnecessarily thrust in a verse.

For instance, in the verse 369 the subject is that हनुमान crossed the ocean; naturally, therefore, the various adjectives of the ocean (that it was dark as the leaves of तमाल tree etc.) do not in any way add to the beauty of the main statement.

In the following verse full of jingling alliteration there is not a single phrase that has any charm of sense. Only there is a series of sweet-sounding words.

व्याहतत्वम् is a fault arising from two naturally contradictory statements; this is illustrated in the verse 372.

In the first foot is the statement ' kill your enemies.' But strange to say, in the third foot occurs the statement " there is not a single enemy of yours "— a statement perfectly contradictory to the one in the first foot.

अवैदग्ध्य is stating a thing in a bald almost an indecent manner.

The verse 373 is an instance in point. The whole statement is utterly unpoetic and extremly vulgar, for there is no charming suggestion what-so-ever in the

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verse. Everything is stated in a plain or bald manner; but as we know, suggestion is the essence of poetic beauty.

In the verse 374 the fault of अश्लीलत्व is illustrated. The description is applicable to a villain as well as to the male organ. Here the words स्तब्ध, विवर, पात and उन्नति yield double meaning.

साकाङ्क्षत्वम् occurs when some words or phrases necessary to complete the sense of a statement are wanting in a verse or a sentence. For instance, in verse 375 रावण begged for the hand of सीता, but he was repulsed and राम was given her hand. रावण, therefore, would not tolerate this (i. e. the prosperity of the enemy, his own insult and the loss of सीता). Here, after the word स्त्रीरत्नम् the word उपेक्षितुं has to be necessarily supplied in order to make out a proper sense.

Similarly in 376 the statement, "I abandon thee Oh weapon !" requires some reason which is not given in the verse and hence साकाङ्क्षत्वम्. The idea in the first three lines is that द्रोण had taken to the profession of a क्षत्रिय though it was not proper for him to do so; he worked wonders with the weapon and finally left it through grief. Where, however, a statement is perfectly well-known or self-evident, no reason is necessary, as in the verse 377. In this verse कालिदास says that the Goddess of beauty dwelt in the face of उमा, for both the moon and the lotus were inferior to her face.

The fault of सन्देह occurs where in the absence of the context there arises an ambiguity of sense. For instance, in the verse 375 one does not know, merely by reading, whether the author is in favour of renunciation or the dalliances of love. The meaning is:—"Oh Gentlemen! with a calm mind decide whether" etc.

अक्रमत्वम् occurs when instead of stating a thing in due order it is stated in a reverse order. For instance, in 378 मातङ्ग ought to precede तुरगम्, but the order is reversed.

Even when no order in importance is observed and several things are stated promiscuously, there occurs the fault of अक्रमत्वम्; sometimes there is a breach of order as regards time as in the verse 379. The order of time is here not observed, for the old man ought to have first consulted the astrologer and then got himself shaved.

In the figure अतिशयोक्ति, however, as an inverse order leads to that figure, there is no fault of अक्रमत्व. For instance, In the verse 380:—" The ocean of love swelled in her heart and then the moon rose." When the words are not in proper order the fault is as regards words and not as regards the sense.

When the same sense is repeated in two sentences in the same canto or a poem it leads to the fault of पुनरुक्तम्. In the third canto of शिशुपाल verses 12th and 13th have the same sense only expressed in (different words) and hence the fault of पुनरुक्तम्.

In the phrase अश्वीयसंहृतिः there is a repetition, for अश्वीय means 'an array of horses' and hence संहृति is redundant.

Similarly in जनताः (शि. व. स. ५/७४) (verse 385) the plural number is superfluous; for the word जनता itself means 'a mass of people.'

In 386 शीतकिरणाभरणः itself means 'Shankar'; the word भव therefore, is redundant.

But in the verse 387 हर is not redundant; for पिनाकपाणि is an adjective and shows only the quality of हर (Shankar) and hence the word हर is necessary.

In the compound words like धनुर्ज्या कर्णावतंस the

words धनुः and कर्ण are apparently liable to the fault of पौनरुक्त्य (repetition), but all such words have now been accepted as faultless through usage and some peculiar meaning is made out of them; for instance, in धनुर्ज्या the word धनुः shows that the string is actually attached to the bow.

In कर्णावतंस the word कर्ण suggests that the ornament is actually on the ear.

Thus we see that ज्या अवतंस etc. by themselves are quite competent to express their meaning but in order to defend the compounds धनुर्ज्या etc. sanctioned by usage, some inner meaning is super-imposed on them according to the dictum "स्थितस्य गतिश्चिन्तनीया."

sometimes, however, repetition is necessary and adds grace to a statement as in the verse 400 ततः किम् repeated four times suggests the keen sense of digust about worldly things in the mind of the speaker.

In moments of excitment, repetition is no fault, according to the verse वक्त्रा हर्षभया etc. quoted below.

In भिन्नसहचरत्वम् things of incongruous nature are brought together as in the verse 401, good things such as श्रुत, नय etc. are mentioned along with मदेन नारी व्यसनेन मूर्खता etc..

विरुद्धत्व (contradictory sense) is a fault; as in 402. विरुद्धत्व also means:—Stating something which is contrary to the real nature of things or to the established conventions.

For instance, in the verse 403, God of love is described as having a disc (चक्र) in his hand; but this statement is against the conventions of the poets who believe that the God of love has five arrows in his hands.

In 404 it is stated that the Ashoka tree put forth sprouts on account of its being kicked by women.

But this goes against the poetic convention which is that Ashoka, when kicked by women, puts forth flowers.

Again in the verse 405, चक्री (Lord Vishnu) is said to be extolling the wheels of the God Sun; and God Hari is said to be extolling the horses of the God Sun. But this is not at all supported by Puranas or any other work.

In short, then, the rule may be stated thus:—nothing should be stated by a poet which may savour of fantanstic or imaginary or something which militates against established conventions of science, art etc.

Thus to compare a poem with the moon (see verse 406) or to describe the moon as having caused the day lotus to bloom is liable to the fault of प्रसिद्धिविरुद्धत्व.

Again in the verse 408 the राग "भिन्नषड्ज" is stated to have पञ्चम tune in it–but this is wrong, as पञ्चम tune is totally absent in भिन्नषड्जराग.

Similarly, to say that a Brahmin performed a राजसूय sacrifice (for क्षत्रियs alone can do it), that enemies are conquered by enthusiasm alone, (for they are conquered by diplomacy also), that the marks of teeth in kissing were seen on the upper lip (for they are only seen on the nether lips), absolution is obtained by devotion alone (for knowledge also is the way to मेाक्ष) is wrong, as it goes against the convention of science and popular customs etc.

त्यक्तपुनरात्तत्व is a fault which occurs when after the completion of a certain statement it is supplemented by something unnecessary.

For instance, in the verse लग्नं रागावृताङ्ग्या etc. विदितं ते स्तु (be it known to you) completes the statement. But it is again supplemented by the words तेन etc., this is wrong.

Of course if reviving the statement adds to poetic beauty or heightens a sentiment, it is permissible, as in 414 the figure ससन्देह lengthened again heightens the sentiment of विप्रलम्भशृङ्गार.

In the verse the speaker raises a series of doubts: if the rays of the moon are full of nectar why should they burn me ? Again if they are besmeared with poison, why should they not kill me ? etc.

As a rule,

(1) a word stated once has to be repeated when the sense is alluded again.

(2) Again if a statement has to be made vague it is wrong to make it expressly limited.

(3) It is wrong to turn a particular statement into a general one or vice versa.

(4) It is wrong to turn a subject into a predicate or vice versa.

All these rules if not observed lead to the faults stated at the end of the seventh sutra (such as परिहृत-नियमाऽनियम etc).

In the verse 415 which means:—" Before a genuine jewel the whole creation appears to be crude, to state that it can be compared to something is an insult of the jewel. Its excellence transcends imagination. Such a jewel, however in the midst of falsely glittering jewels is only a piece of stone and nothing more." The place of तस्य here is wrong. It ought to go with मणि which is an अनुवाद्य.

Similarly in the verse 416 in which the words

सरस्वती	(1) a particular river	(2) learning
शोण	(1) red	(2) a particular river
समुद्र	(1) ocean	(2) having lines
वाहिनी	(1) river	(2) army

yield double meaning, in "वक्त्राम्भोजम् etc." शोण (red) is a vague statement, but to say that it is शोण एव (only red) is wrong.

In the verse 417 which means:—"Don't despise these jewels–Oh Ocean! for one of them obliged Vishnu to beg you," a general statement is the proper statement, but instead of that, "कौस्तुभेन विहितः" is a particular statement made–this is wrong.

Exactly opposite is the case in the verse 418: here ज्योत्स्ना (moon-lit night) is the particular word that is wanted, but instead of this the word श्यामा (a night in general) is used.

Similarly in 419 विरहिप्राणदमन is an adjective of नीलोत्पल (blue lotus) but it ought to have been used predicatively, for the context requires it to be so.

Again in 420 in which अश्वत्थामा takes a vow of killing all the पाण्डवs in one night, शेषे is used as a predicate, while in fact it ought to form part of the subject; the word प्रयत्नपरिशोषितः, again, goes with the subject, but in reality it ought to be the predicate—thus there is a double fault. The faults of पद, part of a पद etc. are not mentioned by हेमचन्द्र obviously because they are easy to detect. When there is anything faulty used in course of imitating a person (by way of creating humour) etc., there is no fault.

When proper persons speak in a proper manner (even though it may appear unintelligible, absurd, indecent etc. to others) it is no fault. Sometimes it lends positive charm to the poems. The illustrations are already given by हेमचन्द्र in this chapter. Here he draws attention of the readers to the exceptional cases where a fault (in ordinary cases) is no fault at all.

ADHYAYA IV

काव्य has already been defined by हेमचन्द्र as 'सगुणौ शब्दार्थौ.' गुण again is defined in general as 'excellence in a sentence that contributes to the development of a रस (sentiment). Now in the following sutras the number of गुणs and their definitions have been given.

There are only three गुणs namely माधुर्य, ओजस् and प्रसाद. There are neither ten गुणs as the old rhetoricians such as भरत and others think nor five as others think. The reason for regarding the गुणs as three only is this that other गुणs can be easily included under these three गुणs on the strength of their very definitions. This has been ably shown by हेमचन्द्र in his commentary.

These गुणs or poetic excellences in reality belong to the रसs and only secondarily to the word and sense in which they are embodied.

In the second sutra the excellence माधुर्य is defined: माधुर्य is that quality which causes the heart of a reader melt. This गुण is predominantly found in the poems containing शृङ्गाररस (संभोगशृङ्गार). माधुर्य is the quality even of रसs such as हास्य अद्भुत and others that are helpful to this संभोगशृङ्गार.

माधुर्य in its intense form is seen in शान्त, करुण and विप्रलम्भशृङ्गार.

The following are the characteristic conditions of माधुर्य:—

(1) In it letters with the nasals belonging to their respective classes should come.

(2) No letter of ट् class should come in.

(3) Short forms of र् and ण् may be used.

(4) As far as possible compounds should not come in.

(5) On the whole the style should be delicate or soft.

Verse 421 is an apt illustration of माधुर्यगुण.

For the occurence of र् and ण् in माधुर्य, verse 422 is a happy illustration:

" Heavenly damsels anxiously wait (रणरणकी पश्यति) for their lovers (from the slain warriors below)."

The verse 423 is full of letters from टवर्ग and hence it is directly detrimental to माधुर्यगुण.

Verse 424 is full of long compounds and abounds in hard-sounding words and as such militates against the conditions of माधुर्य.

" The sky is overcast with clouds, why do you weep unnecessarily ? (your lover is bound to return home on account of the setting in of rainy-season). Wild conflagration is darkening all the quarters with the columns of its smoke (and hence your lover will no longer travel, but soon return home.)"

ओजस् is a गुण that inflames the heart of a reader. It is found in वीर, बीभत्स and रौद्र in an ascending order of intensity.

The following are the conditions of ओजस्:—

(1) The first letter of a class joins with the second letter of a class.

(2) The third letter of a class joins with the fourth letter of a class.

(3) The same letter is repeated twice in the same word to make a conjunct consonant.

(4) The letter र् joining with any other letter.

(5) All the letters of टवर्ग except ण् occuring frequenly.

(6) The letters श and ष् coming frequently.

(7) Long compounds.

(8) A style full of hard-sounding words.

Verse 425 is an excellent illustration of ओजस्:

" Of what avail are my arms if they find it difficult to guard my city (लङ्का) arms-that are elated with the pride of being able to shake कैलास mountain ? Of what avail, again, are my heads that are needlessly glorified for their securing a favour from God Shiva by pouring a stream of blood flowing ceaselessly from them (i. e. heads) when cut down etc."

In the verse 426 in which अश्वत्थामा compares himself with परशुराम and says that he will imitate परशुराम and kill his enemies, the main रस is रौद्र; but the style is so tame, being void of compounds and hard words, that the ओजस् which was needed to develop this रौद्ररस is entirely marred in its effect.

प्रसाद is the third गुण; it is to be found in all the रसs for it consists in the felicity of expression which attracts the hearts of the readers and make them understand the particular verse easily.

Thus प्रसाद is compared to a fire in dry fuel and to transparent water; for like these two things, प्रसाद occupies the heart of a reader immediately and makes the sense perfectly clear.

In प्रसाद the letters, the compounds and the style should be such as would make the sense clear at the very first hearing or reading.

प्रसाद is best illustrated in the verse 427:—

" What is the use of the wish-yielding trees when liberal persons are there ? (that is to say liberal persons are just like the कल्पवृक्षs). Similarly, the beggars are said to be like the grass. These letters indicative of these three गुणs are sometimes termed as वृत्तिs, others name them रीतिs.

Letters, as a rule, indicate गुणs, but sometimes they indicate a particular speaker by their presence. For

instance in the verse 428 in which भीम describes in a graphic manner the thundering notes of drum, there is no रौद्ररस and consequently no ओजस्; but because the speaker is भीम, the style is full of hard-sounding words.

Sometimes the style follows the subject-matter without any regard to the particular speaker or composition. For instance the description of the head of कुम्भकर्ण in the verse 429:—

" Here falls down from the sky with a loud crash the head of कुम्भकर्ण; while it is falling the winds in the caverns of mountains with their howling sound are extolling as it were the exploit of Rama. The head is observed by Aruna the charioteer who is wheeling round the chariot of the sun because the horses have got frightened on account of the sudden movement of राहु–which was due to the tremendous force of the head being thrown after its complete chopping by राम.

Here the speaker as well as the composition do not necessitate the forcible style, but the description of the monstrous head of कुम्भकर्ण has fittingly rendered the style fiery.

Sometimes the style is changed according to the nature of the particular composition, without any regard to the speaker or the subject-matter. For instance, in the आख्यायिका kind of composition even when शृङ्गार is to be portrayed, the style is not altogether full of soft words. Again in the कथा kind, even in रौद्ररस the style is not fiery. Similarly in dramas, even in रौद्ररस, long compounds and harsh-sounding words are not admitted because they are against the very nature of a dramatic composition.

Thus the criterion of a style is (to say it in one word) 'propriety'. The style of a composition or a verse must be proper that is fitting to the place or occasion.

ADHYAYA V

The definition of काव्य has been given already by हेमचन्द्र as 'शब्दार्थौ सालङ्कारौ काव्यम्"—words and sense full of poetic ornaments constitute poetry. If words and sense form the body of poetry, the figures of speech are its ornaments that hang on the body. These ornaments (i. e. figures of speech) are again two-fold : one class belonging to words and the other belonging to sense i. e. शब्दालङ्कार and अर्थालङ्कार. In the fifth chapter the author exhaustively deals with the six शब्दालङ्कारs.

In the first Sutra the figure अनुप्रास is defined :

Repetition of consonants constitutes the figure अनुप्रास.

(1) Either one consonant or more than one may be repeated at close intervals.

(2) This repetition as a rule should heighten the effect of some Sentiment (रस).

(3) One consonant only once repeated does not lend any charm. A single consonat should, therefore, be repeated many times.

(4) But two or more consonants may be repeated only once.

Thus in the verse 430, न a single consonant is repeated many times and hence the charming effect.

In the following verse however (431) more than two consonants र्, म्, न्द् are repeated only once: अरुण-परिस्पन्द-मन्दी काम-क्षाम गण्ड-पाण्डु.

In the following verse (432) a pair of two consonants (or a group of three consonants) is only once repeated.

गुर्वी–गुरुणा वधू–विधातृ चकार–चकोर लज्जावती लाजवि etc.

Similarly in धूसरितसरिति the group of स् र् त् is once repeated.

In the verse 434 many consonants are repeated many times. Thus in the first line ध् is repeated four times.

In the second line र् द् is repeated thrice.

The idea of the verse is : Oh traveller ! how can you remain alive when you are travelling in this summer which is pervading all the quarters (सर्वाशारुधि) etc. स्वच्छन्दकुन्दद्रुहि=that prevents the free blooming of कुन्द flowers...ततार्कतेजसि=full of the intense heat of the Sun.

लाटानुप्रास is a kind of अनुप्रास which is defined in the Second Sutra.

In लाटानुप्रास (1) The words repeated are used in the same sense.

(2) But they are not directly connected with one another.

(3) The words may be either a noun or some other part of speech.

(4) The words may be repeated either once or many times.

This sort of अनुप्रास is a favourite of the people of लाट (the country between modern Broach and Surat). लाटानुप्रास is illustrated in the verse 435.

" Look here! God शंकर renowned for his self-control is holding on his person his own wife because he is afraid of seperation from her ! " So saying Cupid clapped on the hands of his beloved रति and laughed heartily !

Here the noun कर is repeated and hence the लाटानुप्रास.

In the following verse from रघुवंश the word दश is repeated many times. Every time the word (दश) is connected with some new word.

" He (the king) was known by the name दशरथ (who was the father of Rama – the killer of Ravana) and who was as brilliant as the God Sun " etc.

In the verse 436 many such words are repeated only once : काशं काशाः हंस हंसाः etc.

" O King resembling इन्द्र ! the white flowers of काश are looking like the garments of the river. The Swans on the river are looking like काश flowers the moon above is looking like the Swans below."

The autumnal season ((शारदः कालः) has set in.

In the verse 439 the word सुधाकर is repeated only once.

The same word भवति is repeated many times in 440; a group of words repeated once is seen in 441– again an instance of लाटानुप्रास (तुहिनदीधितिः the moon).

" To a man whose wife is with him even a conflagration is (as cool) as the moon; but to one seperated from her even the moon is (hot) like the conflagration."

In the verse 442, again, many such words (वञ्चित and वञ्ति) are repeated many times.

The idea is : It is rather difficult to say so, but it must be said:—even without any fault on their part your own men (आत्मीय) are actually arrested (दमाः) or captured by their hearts by your (excellent) qualities! The inner meaning is that the king's excellent qualities have atttacted the hearts of the people.

यमक is defined in the following Sutra.

When a letter or letters (consonants with vowels) having different meaning are repeated in the same order either very closely or at close intervals, the figure of speech is यमक.

Note that the word श्रुत्यैक्य suggests that even if

the words are, grammatically or phonetically, slightly different, they can give rise to यमक. Thus in the verse 445 अवलं is rhymed with अबलं—व with ब may form यमक.

Similarly in the same verse श rhymes श्य. In short if people can find a marked similarity between two letters (लोकप्रतीतितुल्यत्वपरिग्रहार्थम्) they may give rise to यमक. The name यमक is given to this figure because two letters that rhyme appear just like twin brothers (यमौ).

The words सत्यर्थे means that the letters rhyming must have some sense in their own place.

For instance, in the line मधुप-राजि-पराजितमानिनी both the groups पराजि and पराजि are, as they stand, without any meaning; but in their own place they yield a good sense; therefore they may form यमक.

Again in the line स्फुटपराग-परागत-पङ्कजम् the second group पराग is meaningless as it stands, but in its own place it becomes परागत and yields a sense and as such has a legitimate place in यमक.

But if two words carrying exactly the same sense come together, they do not form यमक, as the Sutra explicitly says that the word ought to be अन्यार्थ i. e. the meaning of the words rhymed ought not to be exactly the same.

Thus the line उदेति सविता ताम्रस्ताम्रएवास्तमेतिच is not an instance of यमक.

Again in the verse 446, the first word लाक्ष is phonetically not similar to the second लालस, but this minute difference is negligible and the two words do form यमक.

Similarly, in the same verse न though different from ण may rhyme and न with म also is admissibe in a यमक as in the line वेगं हे तुरगाणां जयमसावेति etc.

गं हे etc. rhymes with भङ्गहेतुरगानाम्।

Here ना rhymes with णा.

In 448 समरंहसम् rhymes with समरं हसन् i. e. न् with म्.

In 449 अजायथा: ends with विसर्ग and यूथादजा यथा has no विसर्ग still they rhyme, for as हेमचन्द्र says above " विसर्जनीयस्य भावाभावयोऽपि न विरोधः "—as is illustrated above in 449.

The letters in यमक must come in order-exact order of words, no inverse order would do. The words सरोरसः, therefore, do not make any यमक.

Similarly श्रवण does not rhyme with प्रणव; and प्रमथ with प्रथम and रणवा with वारण do not rhyme for the order of words is inverse.

This यमक is found in one foot rhyming with another and even in one part of a foot rhyming with another part of the same foot. All possible varieties of these यमकs are given by हेमचन्द्र in the paragraph following the sutra (107). Almost every variety is illustrated and annotated below by हेमचन्द्र.

In चक्रे दहतारं चक्रन्द हतारम (451) one part of a foot rhymes with another part.

आरं चक्रम् i. e. the troops of enemies. हता means broken-hearted.

On account of your sword etc. your enemy's wife wept.

Again in 452 the first foot rhymes with the third foot. यस्याः संयतं याचमानेन द्विषा वधः प्रापि।

In the verse 454 the first two feet rhyme with the last two.

Thus from the verse 455 to 462 all the important varieties of यमक have been illustrated.

Some of the varieties not illustrated by हेमचन्द्र in the text have been illustrated by him in the commentary.

But all these countless varieties of यमक serve only to exhibit the powers of versification possessed by a poet—(कविशक्तिख्यापनमात्रफलत्वेन) and do not ever instruct the readers in any of the four पुरुषार्थs i. e. goals of life (धर्म, अर्थ, काम, मोक्ष); they are, therefore, regarded as काव्यगड्ड–impediments in the enjoyment of a रस. गड्ड is a joint or a piece of sugar-cane having no juice in it.

Cf साहित्यदर्पण's remarks on all kinds of चित्रकाव्य (canto 10th–12th कारिका).

" A poem is composed ", argues हेमचन्द्र, " to stimulate weak-minded men on to the goal of life. But even understanding यमक and other varieties of चित्रकाव्य requires a great straining of one's faculty of understanding; चित्रकाव्य, therefore, strangles the course of a रस and as such is never delightful in the end. Even the figures of speech in themselves are not desirable if they mar the development of a रस, much more so, therefore, these varieties of यमक and other चित्रकाव्यs.

Well might लोल्लट remark, therefore, that it is only parading one's power or it is a sort of blind imitation of our predecessors to indulge in the composition of these varieties of चित्रकाव्य (see the कारिकाs of लोल्लट quoted by हेमचन्द्र). चित्रकाव्य is so called because of its creating a sense of wonder or possibly because it is as attractive to the eyes (merely) as a picture.

Some of the varieties of चित्रकाव्य are defined and illustrated below :—

For instance, in the verse 463 all the vowels are short. In the Commentary there is a funny instance of a poem full of long vowels (वै धै रै नै etc.)

In the verse 479, only one consonant is employed. Some poems are composed with letters belonging to

कण्ठस्थान only (अकुहविसर्जनीयानां कण्ठः i. e. अ, क वर्ग, विसर्ग and ह् have the throat as their origin).

गतप्रत्यागत is a kind of चित्र in which the order of the first foot comes inversely in the second foot as is illustrated in the verse 466.

Some verses are composed (i. e. arranged) after the figure of a sword, a drum or other such things.

For instance, in the verses 467 and 468 the figure of a sword is seen if the words are arranged in a peculiar order; the verse 469 is an instance of मुरजबन्ध.

च्युतचित्रकाव्य is one in which some मात्रा, अर्धमात्रा, बिन्दु (nasal) or a letter is deliberately dropped (to test the erudition of a reader).

For instance, in the verse 470 instead of कृपाण the word कृपण is used. Apparently the poem contains the censure of a king, but if we take the word कृपाण the whole meaning is changed and it then be comes a eulogy of the king. भूति then means prosperity महापद then comes to mean 'of an exalted rank' etc.,

In the verse 471 अर्धमात्रा is dropped and then the verse as it stands means "Oh girl! possessed of bulky breasts, bright as the flash of lightining, you can get with great difficulty your lover.

But if half a मात्रा is added in the middle of the two words बाले and दुःखेन it becomes बालेन्दुं खे न लभ्यते "the new moon cannot be seen in the sky overcast with clouds" etc.

Verse 472 is an instance of बिन्दुच्युतक dropping of a nasal. The nasal over सहसा is dropped; but a nasal inserted makes the word सहसा changed into सहंसा and then the meaning is changed.

Verse 473 is an instance of वर्णच्युत one in which

some letters have to be dropped in order to get entirely a new meaning.

The verse is composed in सिद्धि metre, and it describes the joint form of Shankar and Parvati (अर्धनारीनटेश्वर). On the one hand there is the chaplet of skulls; on the other, there is the wreath of pearls. On the one hand is the eye of fire on the forehead, on the other is a mark etc..

Now if the first two letters of every foot are dropped and the last seven syllables are dropped it becomes a verse in प्रमिताक्षरा metre in which the form of Shankar is described.

If, on the other hand, the first seven syllables of every foot are dropped together with the last two words it becomes a verse in द्रुतविलम्बित metre and then it contains the description of गौरी.

In गूढ kind of चित्रकाव्य, sometimes the verb is hidden, sometimes the subject, at other times a word in genitive etc.

For instance, in the verse 474 the verb is hidden (with great skill by the poet) in the word स्तनगुरुजघनाभिराम etc. it has to be split into स्त न गुरुजघना etc.

Oh youths ! is it ever possible that you are not bewildered at the sight of the sportive gait of a woman ?

In the verse 475 the object is concealed and apparently it is difficult to arrive at the proper meaning but if we split the word शरावेण into शरौ and एण the meaning becomes clear.

O deer ! what cruel man has planted these two arrows in your breast etc.

Similarly verse 476 is apparently meaningless as it stands, but if we split the words मया गोरसाभिज्ञम् into मे आगोरसाभिज्ञम् the meaning is clear :

My heart is not fond of committing any offence; why then are you angry? etc.

Again in the verse 477 three feet are given and the fourth foot is concealed. This has to be arranged from the words in the first foot in a way as would fit in with the context. "विद्युतामिव संहतिः" is the foot so drawn out.

But after all, this is only showing acrobatic feats in the domain of poetry and as such can never come up to the level of true poetry. Naturally, therefore, हेमचन्द्र has avoided the mention of all these and similar other varieties.

We find some relief when we come to श्लेष for it has at least some beauty of sense.

In श्लेष (i) two parallel senses are expressed by the same sentence.

(2) Almost every word yields different meaning.

(3) Either the words have to be split up in order to yield different meaning or they stand as they are and yield different meanings.

श्लेष has many varieties. Sometimes the pun is on a syllable, sometimes on a word, sometimes on the gender.

The verse 478 is an illustration of श्लेष (pun) based on the syllables इ and उ in the words विधु and विधौ— the locative singular of both these words is the same, but the two meanings run parallel and the last line yields double meaning.

Even when the crooked moon (विधु) is on the head of Shankar, he is reduced to the plight (described in the first two lines). This is one meaning. Another is: when a man is subjected to the reverses of fortune (विधि) he is reduced to a doleful plight.

In the following verse, the words are made to yield two meanings in order to suit the statement 'ये दृष्टाः परमेश्वरेण भवता तुष्टेन रुष्टेनवा' those who are seen by you when you are pleased गच्छन्ति महापदम् etc. and those who are seen by you with anger also गच्छन्ति महाऽऽपदम्; the whole verse yields two meanings.

In the verse 480 the pun is with regard to genders (neuter and feminine) the word तनु is in feminine gender and the word नेत्रे is in neuter. Now the statement "may either the eyes or the body of Shiva bring the removal etc. to you" requires that every adjective in the verse be interpreted as qualifying नेत्रे and तनु and for double meaning of the verse especially the words नीते हितप्राप्तये have got to be split up into नीता ईहितप्राप्तये. This is the सभङ्गश्लेष (word-splitting pun) of which this is an instance in point.

Verse 481 is an instance of a pun in which the Sanskrit form of the verse yields a meaning different from that which is yielded when the verse is regarded as a प्राकृत one. Both the meanings have been clearly explained by the author.

In the following verse (482) कीर्तिनुत् is a word which is interpreted in two ways as 'leading to fame' and 'destroying the fame of' in order to fit in with the words द्विषां च सुहृदां चते.

नुत्, thus, is taken as the forms of two different verbs नु and नुद्—a pun on roots.

In verse 483 which means:

When you cut off the diseased part from the body of the moon it left a scar on it; that part appears now like a deer (and dark).

The pun is on the word हरिणीभूता (च्वि form) and

हरिणी भूता (seperate words) where भूता is a form of भूतकृदन्त–an instance of a pun on terminations.

Verse 484: येन विषं निजगले (1) in his throat (2) was swallowed (perf. of गल्) निजगलेच विषंबभ्रे; येन अङ्गजः (cupid) देहे (was burnt) and जाया च देहे दध्रे स अजः जयति puns on cases (गले and देहे). Similarly in the verse 485:

' आद्यः जिनः निर्वृतात्मा नः मुदं ददताम् '. In this sentence ददताम् is 3rd per. sing (imperative) of दद् (1st conju. Atm.) (may he confer) but in अन्येऽपिजिनाः धर्मस्य प्रभवः (प्रभु plu). निर्वृतात्मानः मुदं ददताम् (imperative 3rd per. plu. 3rd. conju. Atm. of दा).

The pun here is on the numbers (वचनभङ्ग)—singular and plural. The word प्राज्यप्रभावः is singular once, but then for the second time it is to be split into प्राज्यप्रभाः and वः. Similarly अस्तरजस्तमाः is once singular अस्त+रजस्+तमस् and once plural अस्त+रजस्+तम (superlative termination). All the instances given above are with regard to the pun सभङ्ग (in which words have got to be split into two or more parts in order to arrive at the double meaning), but अभङ्ग श्लेष, in which no word–splitting is necessary, and in which the words as they stand are interpreted in two ways, is illustrated in the following verse (486) in which राजा means both a king and the moon at the same time because of the absence of the context. Can this instance of अभङ्ग श्लेष be regarded as an instance of अर्थालङ्कार (sense figure) ?

' No,' says हेमचन्द्र, ' for if instead of the word उदय we substitute the word शक्त्युपचय or गिरि, the श्लेष disappears at once. Hence the figure is entirely dependent on words and thus it is a word–figure and not a sense–figure.

शब्दसत्त्वे अलङ्कारः शब्दासत्त्वे न अलङ्कारः—this is called the method of अन्वयव्यतिरेक.

Now take the verse स्वयंच पल्लवाताम्र etc. (487). This verse describes गौरी. The goddess गौरी is like the morning twilight which shines with the rays of the sun as red as the new leaves, and which gives the desired fruit of wakefulness to all.

गौरी is also one that shines with her red and bright hands and is one that confers desired object (which is difficult to obtain अ+सु+आप).

What figure is there in the above-mentioned verse?

The first answer of हेमचन्द्र to this is: it is a mixture of श्लेष and उपमा. Without श्लेष, उपमा can not stand in this verse.

But on second consideration, हेमचन्द्र says that the figure in this verse is उपमा alone.

For उपमा does not occur only when there is any resemblance as regards common quality or common action. It may arise even when resemblance is merely verbal.

If in such instances (such as स्वयं च पल्लव.) only श्लेष is admitted, पूर्णोपमा will have no place at all. On the other hand, if resemblance of गुण and क्रिया is taken as the criterion of उपमा, then अर्थश्लेष (with उपमा suggested in it as in असावुदयमारूढः etc.) will have no place.

When, therefore, in the same verse both उपमा and श्लेष occur, preference should be given to उपमा.

We should not have any rigid difference like the following:—

"When a figure is based on the resemblance of गुण and क्रिया it is उपमा; and when there is merely a verbal resemblance it is श्लेष."

In fact even a verbal resemblance may give rise to उपमा.

But it may be asked "what, then, is the province of श्लेष"? To this हेमचन्द्र's answer is as follows:—

A pure unmixed श्लेष is already illustrated in the verse असावुदयमारूढः; in fact instances of pure श्लेष can be easily multiplied.

But where two figures (श्लेष and some other) come together and between them श्लेष is not fully developed, the other figure must be given predominance in the verse.

Thus in अबिन्दुसुन्दरी नित्यं गलल्लावण्यबिन्दुका both श्लेष and विरोधाभास are possible. But on minute analysis, we find that the श्लेष gives rise to विरोध and ultimately विरोध appears prominently. The figure is this verse, therefore, is विरोध and not श्लेष.

Similarly in the verse अनुरागवतीसंध्या दिवसस्तत्पुरःसरः etc. (quoted in the commentary) there is श्लेष no doubt, but it does not gather strength and makes room for the development of समासोक्ति. Thus in this verse the only figure is समासोक्ति (and not श्लेष). In this verse (अनुरागवती etc.) the word पुरःसर (as हेमचन्द्र ingeniously remarks) has to be interpreted as संमुखं सरति i. e. comes nearer from the opposite direction (as a lover does) –it does not mean that the day is walking ahead and संध्या is following; for in that case their union will never take place ! !

When a verse appears to be written (with the same words) in two or more languages (with no difference in meaning) that is called भाषाश्लेष.

Another kind of भाषाश्लेष (already discussed) has this difference from the present kind of भाषाश्लेष (stated in sutra 110) that the former yields two different meanings from the same words (of two different languages) while the latter has only one meaning.

An instance of भाषाश्लेष of the present kind is given

in the verse (488) quoted from मालतीमाधव and other verse (498) from रुद्रट.

A funny instance in which the same meaning with the same words is common to six languages is given in the verse 493.

The figure वक्रोक्ति is defined in the following sutra:— When a person interprets (or rather misinterprets) the words of another person—with a desire to nonplus him, the figure is वक्रोक्ति.

It is, obviously, based on श्लेष (either सभङ्ग or अभङ्ग as the occassion may require)

An instance of सभङ्ग श्लेष in वक्रोक्ति is given in the verse 494:—

शंकरः—Why are you angry with me, Oh गौरी? गौरि मां प्रति रुषा.

गौरीः—(misinterpreting and misconstruing the words गौरि मां into गौः इमां प्रति) am I a cow ? With what woman am I angry ?

शंकरः—I infer that you are angry with me.

गौरीः—I say you are falling at the feet of a woman other than उमा (अन्+उमा+नतः) etc.

An instance of वक्रोक्ति with अभङ्गश्लेष is given in 495 in a dialogue between कृष्ण and राधा in which the latter deliberately misinterprets the words of कृष्ण.

राधाः—Who is there ?

कृष्णः—हरिः (Krishna)

राधाः—If you are हरि (i. e. a monkey), go to the forest.

कृष्णः—I am कृष्ण (Krishna).

राधाः—If you are कृष्ण [a black monkey] I am afraid of you.

कृष्णः—I am मधुसूदन (killer of the demon मधु.)

राधाः—If you are मधुसूदन (the sucker of honey i. e. a bee), go to a creeper etc.

काकुवक्रोक्ति is recognised by rhetoricians in general as a variety of the figure वक्रोक्ति, but it is not admitted by हेमचन्द्र for this reason that काकु (a slight change in voice due to some emotion) entirely depends upon the mode of reading a verse and as such cannot be a figure of either word or sense, (as is seen from the opinion of यायावरीय i. e. राजशेखर quoted below).

If at all it is to be admitted, it should be included under गुणीभूतव्यङ्गय, for it suggests a sense by a change of voice in reading a word.

In support of his statement हेमचन्द्र aptly quotes ध्वनिकार.

हेमचन्द्र, however, explains this काकु and illustrates it in the following paragraphs.

काकु is of two kinds: साकाङ्क्ष and निराकाङ्क्ष.

In साकाङ्क्ष (i. e. depending on others) काकु is one in which a sentence is first interpreted in its usual sense and then some more sense is added to it on the strength of the context, the person speaking the words etc.

When the sentence gives the same meaning even when it is uttered in a different voice, it is निराकाङ्क्ष काकु. Here of course for वक्रोक्ति – साकाङ्क्ष kind of काकु alone is useful.

काकु (1) either gives entirely different meaning as in the verse देशः सोऽयमरातिशोणितजलैः etc.

Here यद्रामेण कृतं तदेव कुरुते द्रौणायनिः क्रोधनः originally means " I will do exactly what परशुराम did in former times. " But on the strength of काकु, the meaning is changed into : " I will do more than what परशुराम did ". This is called अर्थान्तरम् by हेमचन्द्र.

or (2) it gives some special particulars of the original meaning; for instance in the verse 496:—

" Where is that Ravan who was taken in the arm-pit by वालि ? I am his son (i. e. वालि's son) and am sent by लक्ष्मण etc.

तदात्मजः i. e. वालि's son (i. e. possessing all the peculiar qualities of वालि) is the additional meaning obtained by means of काकु;

or (3) it entirely negatives the first meaning that is yielded by the words as they stand, eg. in निर्वाणवैर etc. स्वस्था भवन्तु means something exactly opposite of the first meaning. On the strength of काकु the meaning would now mean "Let the कौरवs perish etc." This is called अर्थाभाव by हेमचन्द्र.

The last kind of चित्रकाव्य is पुनरुक्तवदाभास. It occurs when two words, exactly similar in form but only apparently similar in meaning, come together.

These two words appearing like synonyms have in reality entirely a different meaning. As for instance in the verse 497:—

भासि and विराजसे apparently mean the same thing.

Similarly, in the case of the pairs द्विषां and अरीणाम् सेनां and वाहिनीं; उदकं and पयः; here in reality the meaning of these apparent synonyms in entirely different as can be seen from the explanation of हेमचन्द्र.

Some of these pairs arise really from words that are in themselves void of any meaning; for instance उदकम्पयः

In उद् अकम्पयः, पयः by itself means nothing, for पयः is a part of the verb उदकम्पयः

ADHYAYA VI

Thirty-one figures of speech (based on sense i. e. अर्थालङ्कारs) are defined and illustrated in this chapter.

The first is उपमा which is defined as " हृद्यं साधर्म्यमुपमा" This definition closely follows the definition of मम्मट which is: ' साधर्म्यमुपमा भेदे '. The significance of every word in the definition is shown by हेमचन्द्र below.

साधर्म्य is not possible in the relations such as cause and effect, simply because there is no similarity of a quality in these relations, but a complete one-ness of quality. Hence similarity of qualities is possible only in two things that are similar to each other. They ought not to be completely alike. Where, therefore, there is ' some ' resemblance in ' some points ' between two things, there is उपमा. But again this resemblance must be हृद्य-delightful to the mind of men of refined taste (सहृदय); otherwise, resemblance between two things in point of existence (सत्त्व) or in point of one that can be known (ज्ञेय or प्रमेय) would also give rise to उपमालंकार. But there is no charm in saying that things resemble one another because they have the common quality of ' existing '. Similarly there is no beauty in saying that a face resembles a jar. Hence when the context is of the description of love or such other things, the sentence ' घट इव मुखं ' can never be an illustration of the figure उपमा. Of course, the simile in this sentence would be quite fiittng, if the context is of हास्यरस (sentiment of laughter) or other such things. The condition of being ' delightful ' applies to every figure.

Resemblance is possible between two things, and the two things, besides, must be different in point of place etc. Resemblance is not possible in

one and the same thing; for instance in पुरुष इव पुरुषः there is no उपमा, for there is complete identity. But if the second पुरुष in this sentence would be taken in the sense of 'a man of some manly deed' then there is उपमा even in this sentence. This shade in meaning is often found in शब्दशक्तिमूलध्वनि. (See chapter Ist. of the present work). In such cases the same word, repeated twice but with different connotations, may give rise to उपमा, as in the following verse (498).

In this verse the second word पुरुष means a man of great courage and bravery.

उपमा is also possible when a thing is compared with itself with a view to show that the thing is incomparable or matchless. This kind of उपमा is taken by other rhetoricians as a seperate figure called अनन्वय; but हेमचन्द्र has included this variety under the general head of उपमा. The following verse 499 illustrates this kind of उपमा or अनन्वय.

यावद्विलासायुधलासवासाः her graces are the abodes of all kinds of dances (लास) of the God of love.

There must be some sort of difference between two things before any resemblance can be said to exist between them. Some such points of difference are mentioned below.

Difference in point of द्रव्य i. e. an individual or a person. समवाय is 'a hord'. In विषाणित्व the termination त्व shows hord, or group i. e. all; the sentence, therefore, means : all horned animals are as ferocious as all fanged ones.

अभाव or absence of anything may also be a point of difference and consequently of similarity.

For a पूर्णा उपमा, उपमान (the standard of comparison)

उपमेय (the subject of comparison) धर्म (a common quality) and उपमावाचक (a word conveying the idea of likeness) must appear in a sentence or in a compound-word or in a derivative (वृत्ति).

Standard of comparison varies according to the volition of the poet.

For instance in the verse

ततः कुमुदनाथेन कामिनीगण्डपाण्डुना।
नेत्रानन्देन चन्द्रेण माहेन्द्री दिगलंकृता ॥

चन्द्र, which is almost always a standard of comparision, is उपमेय, because it is the subject of comparison and it is compared to the cheeks of a beautiful woman which is usually a subject of comparison.

Verse 500 illustrates पूर्णोपमा in a sentence.

The moon-light, in the case of love-lorn persons allayed for a time the fever of love, but again inflamed their torments, just as the sandal-paste does.

Here the comparison is between the moon-light and the sandal-paste.

पूर्णोपमा is also possible in some compounds and in some तद्धित derivatives. For instance, in the verse 501 सरःश्रियः is the subject of the sentence.

The beauties of a lake appeared like young women with their lotuses that appeared like eyes etc.

नेत्रैरिव is a compound according to the dictum इवेन नित्यसमासो विभक्त्यलोपश्च.

If this compound is not admitted, the sentence would be an instance of वाक्योपमा.

Verse 502: दुरालोकः difficult to gaze at i. e. intensely dazzling as well as awe-inspiring.

निदाघाम्बररत्नवत् like the jewel of the summer sky i. e. the sun.

Verse 503: Nothing is as delightful as समाधि-deep meditation.

अनाधिव्याधिसंबाधम्=A state which is devoid of mental agony (आधि) and physical pain (व्याधि).

संबाध (adj.) full of.

Here the standard of comparison is not directly mentioned.

Verse 505:—Sanskrit rendering:—

दुण्दुलायमानो मरिष्यसि कण्टकलितानि केतकीवनानि !
मालतीकुसुमेन समं भ्रमर ! भ्रमन्न प्राप्स्यसि ॥

Verse 509. मृधे=On the battle field.

निदाघघर्मांशु=The sun in summer.

निदाघघर्मांशुदर्शं पश्यन्ति=Enemies look at him just as they would at the summer sun.

पार्थसंचारं संचरति=Walks just as Arjuna does. Both निदाघ घर्मांशुदर्शम् and पार्थसंचारम् are gerundial forms i. e. णमुल् forms according to Panini. हेमचन्द्र's term for णमुल् of Panini is णम्.

Here the word इव is not directly mentioned, but is latent in the णम् form पार्थसंचारम् (पार्थ इव संचरति).

Verse 510: वाग्मिनि=O sweet-tongued one ! The word comes from वाग्मिन् (वाक्+मिन्)—one having a sweet speech.

ध्वाङ्क्ष crow. विराविन् crowing. In the words ध्वाङ्क्ष बिरावी, उष्ट्रक्रोशी and खरनादी the termination is णिन् i. e. इन् shows comparison; ध्वाङ्क्षविरावी, therefore, means crowing like a crow.

" If you but speak a word, the cackling of the swan would sound like the crowing of a crow etc.

In the termination णिन् the word showing comparision is not directly mentioned.

Verse 511: According to the sutra of Panini " ईषदसमाप्तौ कल्पब्देश्यदेशीयरः " the terminations कल्प देश्य and

देशीय are added to nouns in the sense of "almost like that." Here in this verse, therefore, the word इन्दुकल्प वदना means 'having a face almost like the moon.' Similarly in the words मृणालीदेश्य and चक्रदेशीय, the terminations देश्य and देशीय show comparison. All these are तद्धित forms. The sense of comparison is directly shown by these terminations. No complete identity is suggested by these words (कल्प देश्य and देशीय). These words, therefore, do not give rise to the figure metaphor–रूपक. It must be admitted, however, that in dissolving these तद्धित words there is an appearance of the figure metaphor, when we say ईषदपरिसमाप्तः पूर्णेन्दुः, but this identity between पूर्णेन्दु and वदन is merely suggested. The idea of resemblance is here quite direct and prominent. These words, therefore, show comparison.

Verse 512: when a man is separated from his beloved, even the moon appears to him as the sun; he feels as one forlorn; he thinks that he is as good as dead; and even after death, heaven to him is just like hell.

All the denominative forms here (such as क्यच् क्यङ् क्विप् according to Panini or क्यन् क्विप् and क्यङ् according to हेमचन्द्र) show comparison.

Verse 513: मालतीकुसुमसदृशम् is the only variant, otherwise, it is the same as the verse 505 above.

परिपन्थिन् an enemy. संपरायः battle.

Verse 515: अराति विक्रमालोकविकस्वरविलोचनः=Whose eyes are glancing (with admiration) on seeing the exploits of his enemies.

सहस्रायुधीयति, सहस्रायुधः the famous mythological figure सहस्रार्जुन having thousand arms. The termination क्यन् also directly shows resemblance.

Verse 516: विधवति सवितरति and other kindred forms in this verse are all denominatives which show resemblance. For instance सविता विधवति means "The sun acts like the moon." The instance of लुप्तोपमा, where, out of the four necessary components of an उपमा, three are absent, is to be found in the word मृगनयना.. This compound-word is dissolved thus: first we have a तत्पुरुष in मृगनयने and then a बहुव्रीहि in मृगनयने इवनयने यस्याः सा. Here, therefore, उपमान is absent, for the उपमान is मृगनयने of which only the part मृग is present here. Similarly, the common quality, as well as the उपमावाचक (the word indicating उपमा) is absent.

Now we may, as well, take the word मृग in the sense of मृगनयने by having recourse to लक्षणा (implication) but in that case the word मृगनयना would be an instance of metaphor, not of simile (उपमा).

According to some, आयःशूलिक, दाण्डाजनिक and other such words may be given as instances of त्रिलोपा लुप्तोपमा. But हेमचन्द्र cleverly shows that these words should more properly be considered as instances of अतिशयोक्ति (a figure of speech) thus:—

The word आयःशूलिक is a तद्धित form derived from the two words अयः and शूल which means an iron bar. आयःशूलिक, therefore, means 'a man who tries to maintain himself by such wicked means as killing people with iron rods etc. Here the word for क्रूराचार i. e. wicked means is absent. तैक्ष्ण्य severity (the common quality) is absent and the words वा etc. indicating उपमा are also absent.

But according to हेमचन्द्र, अयःशूल here stands for 'the wicked means', the man in question never really takes an iron rod in his hand but it is supposed that he

does so. This is, therefore, an instance of अध्यवसाय-taking one thing as another and hence the figure here is अतिशयोक्ति not उपमा.

Similarly दण्डाजिनेन (अर्थान्) अन्विष्यति इति दाण्डाजनिकः दण्ड+अजिन; दण्ड the staff of a Sanyasi and अजिन the holy skin of a deer. The word, therefore, means 'a man who tries to maintain his livelihood by deceiving the people with the disguise of a Sanyasi. This word also is not an instance of उपमा but of अतिशयोक्ति.

मम्मट in काव्यप्रकाश has not seperately treated of all the varieties of उपमा such as मालोपमा, रशनोपमा etc. हेमचन्द्र following the footsteps of मम्मट has merely illustrated these varieties of उपमा, but has not treated of them seperately. Sometimes in मालोपमा (a string of similes) the common quality is one in all the similes as illustrated in the verse 517 the Sanskrit rendering of which runs thus:—

" शोभेव लक्ष्मणमुखं वनमालेव विकटं हरिपतेरुरः ।
कीर्तिरिव पवनतनयं आज्ञेव बलानि तस्यावलगति दृष्टिः ॥

Rama's gaze fell upon Lakshmana like Beauty; it fell upon the chest of सुग्रीव (the Lord of Monkeys) like a garland of wild flowers; it fell upon Hanuman like fame and it fell upon the armies like a command.

Sometimes the common quality in every simile in मालोपमा is different as in the verse following:—

Verse 518 नितम्बिनि (a beautifnl woman) is compared to various things with different common qualities in each case.

प्रभुतेव etc. she, like authority, has brought under control (attracted towards her) all men.

रशनोपमा is another variety of उपमा in which an उपमेय in one simile becomes उपमान in the simile that

follows. Thus there is a string of interwoven similes in रशनोपमा.

Verse 519 is an instance of रशनोपमा in which the common quality याति (i. e. irrevokability or transitoriness of things) is the same in every simile.

Verse 520 is another instance of रशनोपमा in which the common qualities विमल, आनन्दकारि etc. are different in all the similes which go to form the रशनोपमा.

समस्तोपमा is one in which there is one central simile with all its minor similes as parts of the central one. This is otherwise called सावयवोपमा. A thing with all its parts is the subject-matter of this simile which in its turn appears with other minor similes that form parts of it.

Verse 521 is an illustration of समस्तोपमा.

In the spring, the creepers appear like women; the swarms of bees on them appear like the tresses of hair; the clusters of flowers on them appear like the breasts of women etc. etc.

In the following verse (522) also समस्तोपमा is illustrated.

When only the parts of a thing are compared to the parts of an उपमान then we have our ordinary simile, not this समस्तोपमा.

When there is a set of two similes the उपमेय in one of which becomes the उपमान in another simile and the उपमान in one of which becomes उपमेय in another, the figure is उपमेयोपमा.

Verse 523 is an instance of उपमेयोपमा. This figure necessarily requires two sentences for its completion.

When, however, a thing is compared with itself with a view to show its matchlessness, the figure is अनन्वय as is illustaated in the verse 524.

Where the standard of comparison i. e. उपमान is an imaginary thing, the figure is उत्पाद्योपमा, for the poet here conceives a new thing and then uses it as a standard of comparison.

Verse 525 is an instance of this.

This contains a description of the attire of Lord Krishna when he is starting for हस्तिनापुर.

If in the sky there will be two streams of the waters of the celestical river (the milky way) flowing seperately, then alone the chest of Lord Krishna, dark as the Tamal tree and decked with a long necklace of pearls, can be compared to it (i. e. the sky).

Verse 526 is another instance of उत्पाद्योपमा or कल्पितोपमा. Here however the उपमान is not conceived anew by the poet, but the उपमेय is arranged in such a way as would suit the उपमान.

The verse contains a description of काली the Goddess who attended the marriage ceremony of Shiva and Parvati.

काली followed other women who were as resplendent as gold. She was decked with the skulls of men. She, therefore, appeared like a row of dark clouds which is accompanied by female cranes and before which is stretched a long band of lightening.

Here if it would have been mere Kali she would not have been compared to a row of clouds with cranes and with a band of lightening ahead of it. In order to suit this उपमान, therefore, the उपमेय काली is properly arranged or conceived accordingly.

These and such other minor varieties of simile, if defined and illustrated exhaustively, would needlessly increase the bulk of this volume, as हेमचन्द्र says; there is therefore, no seperate treatment of these varieties here.

The figure उत्प्रेक्षा is fancying some unreal or imaginary chacteristics in a thing which is the subject-matter (प्राकरणिकेऽर्थे). These may pertain to गुण or क्रिया. That is to say, some imaginary quatities may be conceived in a thing or some action may be conceived in it.

Sometimes in उत्प्रेक्षा even the absence of a particular quality or action is conceived. तद्योगोत्प्रेक्षणम् conceiving the qualities of another thing to be our own.

The figure उत्प्रेक्षा is usually indicated by such words as इव, मन्ये etc.

Verse 527 is an instance of गुणोत्प्रेक्षा, some quality conceived in the subject-matter.

The verse describes the noble qualities of Lord महावीर.

" His strength is capable of protecting and destroying the world; and his forgiveness is seen in the case of संगमक (the minor god) who had committed the crime of harassing महावीर (my presence, therfore, is here superflous)." Thus thinking, Oh Lord ! your anger went away quitting your heart, as it were, in anger. Here the quality of anger is conceived of as being possessed by anger.

Verse 528: cupid who obtained the authority or power put his own lustre in the eyes of women as if being dissatisfied with himself.

Verses 529 a 529 b: The moon light spreads in full length as it were in the sky; it multiplies itself as it were, in the moon-lotuses; it is reflected, as it were, in the broad cheeks of women-cheeks that are as pale-white as the stump of an old शर plant.

It expands, as it were, on the waters; laughs, as

it were. on the houses white with lime; and lastly it dances, as it were, on the ends of the banner-cloth fluttering in the wind.

Here all the actions in the case of the moon-light are conceived that is to say are purely imaginary. Hence this is an instance of क्रियोत्प्रेक्षा.

Verse 530 Alas! The two cheeks of this woman, situated as they, at present, are, have been reduced much, because of their not being able, as it were, to see each other.

Here the cheeks are conceived of as not being able to see each other.

This would be हेतूत्प्रेक्षा in the opinion of मम्मट, for the reason of the sunkenness of cheeks is fancifully given as 'their not being able to see each other.'

Here all the varieties of उत्प्रेक्षा in the opinion of हेमचन्द्र are exhausted. He does not classify उत्प्रेक्षा into हेतूत्प्रेक्षा or फलोत्प्रेक्षा or other kinds of उत्प्रेक्षा.

The following five verses are quoted by हेमचन्द्र to show that, though in all of them there is an appearance of उत्प्रेक्षा, in reality they contain the figure उपमा. Even though the standard of comparison in all the verses is purely imaginary both as regards its appearance and its qualities, it gives rise to कल्पितोपमा at the most, but not to उत्प्रेक्षा.

Thus, in the verse 531 the poet भट्टि describes सीता as being, as it were, the creeper साल freely moving and made of gold or as being the lightning that has become steady after slipping down from the sky.

Here though there is a semblance of उत्प्रेक्षा it is, according to हेमचन्द्र a कल्पितोपमा.

The verse in which this line 'अकालसंध्यामिव धातुमत्ताम्' occurs is an instance of उपमा and not उत्प्रेक्षा.

In the following verse (533) again though पार्वती is described as bending slightly as if on account of her (heavy) breasts and though she is said to be, as it were, a moving blossomed creeper, there is no उत्प्रेक्षा but a कल्पितोपमा again.

In the following verse (534) though the woman is said to be, as it were, a lightening without clouds and moon–light without the moon etc, it is an instance of उपमा and not उत्प्रेक्षा.

Similarly in the opening verse of कुमारसंभव.

" अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा ।
हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः ॥
पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधी वगाह्य ।
स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः ॥ "

the statement that 'The Himalaya mountain is, as it were, a measuring rod of this earth' does not give rise to the figure उत्प्रेक्षा, but is purely an instance of उपमा, evidently because the idea of likeness or comparison is prominent in this verse.

The figure रूपकः—

विषय here is उपमेय and विषयिन् is उपमान. For a रूपक the idea of similarity is essential; when the उपमेय and उपमान even though they are two seperate things are identified with each other the figure is रूपक–अतथाभूतेऽपि तथात्वेनाध्यवसायः though the two things are not one, they are considered as being identical. रूपतिं=एकतां नयति is the etymological sense of the word रूपक. Hence it is a figure that identifies two things. But though the identification is mutual, in रूपक the उपमेय assumes one–ness with उपमान, that is to say, it completely merges into उपमान and not the other way. The idea of similarity being an essential factor of a रूपक the statements such as आयुर्घृतम् (ghee is life itself) do not give rise to रूपक,

for the relation between ghee and life is no relation of likeness but that of cause and effect.

If the identity of the उपमेय and उपमान is so complete that the two are not apprehended seperately, then the figure is not रूपक but अतिशयोक्ति, as will be mentioned later on.

रूपक is of two kinds: एकवस्तुविषयम् and अनेकवस्तुविषयम्. The first is illustrated in the following verse (536).

विनिद्रम् यच्चान्तः स्वपिति as she falls asleep even when she is wide awake i. e. as she falls into a profound reverie all along thinking of her lover.

The word प्रेमलतिका is here an instance of रूपक. प्रेम एव लतिका creeper in the form of love.

Here as only one उपमेय is identified with उपमान, the रूपक is एकवस्तुविषयम्.

Where one उपमेय is identified with a number of उपमानs there also the रूपक is एकवस्तुविषयम्, for instance the verse 537.

कान्तेःकार्मणकर्म the wonder work or magic of splendour. विद्या वक्रगिराम् she is the lore of crooked speech i e. she is master of suggestive speech.

विधेरनवधि etc. the direct evidence of the creator's boundless skill.

पञ्चशिलीमुख the God of Love (the five-arrowed one). Where one उपमेय is identified with an उपमान directly, but the other identification is only implied, there also the रूपक is एकवस्तुविषयम्. For instance, verse 538.

The Sanskrit rendering of this verse is as follows:—

यस्य रणान्तःपुरे करे कुर्वतो मण्डलाग्रलताम् ।
रससंमुख्यपि सहसा पराङ्मुखी भवति रिपुसेना ॥

Here रणान्तःपुरे is an expressed metaphor, while the identity of रिपुसेना with an angry woman is only implied on the strength of the context.

Verse 539 illustrates अनेकवस्तुविषय रूपक. This kind is named by मम्मट as सावयव रूपक. The idea underlying this रूपक is the same as is found in समस्तविषया उपमा (illustrated in the verse 521 above). The identity in this sort of रूपक is full-fledged with all the attending identities of the parts of the thing which forms the subject-matter (विषय) of the original रूपक.

Here तृष्णालता is the central रूपक. तृष्णा–craving is identified with a creeper. Now there are many sides of this idea of craving; they are, therefore, identified with the corresponding parts of the creeper which is the main विषयी.

अहंकृति egotism is the seed (of the creeper). ममेतिग्रह: the idea of possession.

नित्यत्वस्मृति: the notion of the permanency of things.

स्कन्ध: stem.

Verse 540 is another instance of अनेकविषयरूपक.

जयलक्ष्मीद्वारतोरणस्तम्भौ (your arms are) the pillars of the portals of the Goddess of Victory.

Some of the minor varieties of रूपक are mentioned and illustrated in passing by हेमचन्द्र below. But not being very prominent, they are not separately treated of by him. Verse 541 is an instance of सहजावयव रूपक, but in reality it, in no way, differs from an अनेकवस्तुविषय रूपकम्. Perhaps the difference between these two kinds of रूपक is this that in the former the parts are not as natural as the parts in the latter.

आहार्यावयव रूपक is one in which the parts of the main विषय are artificially brought together, for instance, in the verse 542. An elephant is identified with a mountain, the covering on his back with the clouds. These parts are not naturally suggested but are

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deliberately brought together. The verse अलिकुलकुन्तल etc. illustrates an उभयावयव रूपक. The well with all its attending parts is identified with a woman with her limbs and dress etc.

These minor varieties, thus, cannot be exhaustively treated, for there can be no end of it. The multiplicity of the varieties of उपमा and रूपक is simply bewildering as दण्डी says in काव्यादर्श.

निदर्शना : An illustration given to corroborate the statement made with regard to the subject-matter in hand is निदर्शना. It seems that हेमचन्द्र has combined the four figures दृष्टांत, प्रतिवस्तूपमा, निदर्शना and अर्थान्तरन्यास into one figure and named it निदर्शना. The definition "इष्टार्थसिद्धये दृष्टांतः" is applicable to the figures दृष्टांत and प्रतिवस्तूपमा as well. In his explanation of this definition हेमचन्द्र says "इष्टस्य सामान्यरूपस्य विशेषरूपस्य वा प्राकरणिकस्यार्थस्य सिद्धये यो दृष्टांतः"—an illustration given (it may contain either a general or a particular statement) to corroborate the statement regarding the subject-matter in hand. This is exactly the case in the two kinds of the figure अर्थान्तरन्यास. This figure अर्थान्तरन्यास, therefore, ought to have been included in निदर्शना. Strangely enough, however, the figure is separately treated by हेमचन्द्र later on. On the whole his treatment of these four figures does not seem to be thoroughly scientific.

The etymology of the word निदर्शना is निर्दिश्यते प्राकरणिको ऽर्थोऽनेनेति (where the subject-matter is made clear by means of apt illustrations).

Verse 544 : The Sanskrit rendering of this verse is:— भवति न गुणानुरागो जडानां केवलं प्रसिद्धिशरणानाम् ।
किल स्नौति शशिमणिश्चन्द्रे न प्रियामुखे दृष्टे ॥

The fools have no love for merits; they are

simply led away by the celebrity of things. For instance, the moon-stone melts only when it sees the moon and not when it sees the lovely face of a woman. मम्मट would take this to be an instance of अर्थान्तरन्यास.

Verse 545: This is said by चन्दनदास in मुद्राराक्षस 1-21.

Overhead is the dense mass of clouds; and my beloved is far away from me; what an unexpected calamity is this! An enraged cobra is on the head, and the herbs that would act as a sure remedy for a snake-bite are far away on the Himalayas.

Here if we follow the context strictly, this must be taken as two independent illustrations corroborating the statement which is outside this verse.

But if उपरिघनं etc. is the statement regarding the subject-matter, then the statement in the second line of this verse will serve as an illustration. In either case this will be an instance of निदर्शना even according to मम्मट, because his definition of निदर्शना is अभवन्वस्तुसंबंध उपमा परिकल्पकः, here the man has cobra on his head but the statement serves merely as an illustration.

Where either a general or a particular statement is substantiated by a particular statement, there is the figure निदर्शना, but where a particular statement is substantiated by a general statement, there is the figure अर्थान्तरन्यास.

Verse 546 : देवीभाव etc.

दैवतरूपाङ्कितं रत्नम् : a jewel on which the figure of some God or Goddess is carved.

Verse 547 : उडुपम् a small boat.

This verse is cited as an instance of निदर्शना by मम्मट in his काव्यप्रकाश. The verse देवीभावंगमिता is given as an instance of प्रतिवस्तूपमा by मम्मट.

According to हेमचन्द्र, however, प्रतिवस्तूपमा can be included in निदर्शना. Not even that, but दृष्टान्त as mentioned and defined by मम्मट is included under निदर्शना by हेमचन्द्र. All the three subdivisions of निदर्शना as treated seperately by मम्मट are brought under one main निदर्शना by हेमचन्द्र. It is difficult to understand then why हेमचन्द्र should treat अर्थान्तरन्यास as a seperate (अलंकार) figure of speech. This question must have arisen in the mind of हेमचन्द्र also, for in the commentary he makes a clear distinction between अर्थान्तरन्यास and निदर्शना, by first introducing the question thus:—

ननुचार्थान्तरन्यासोऽपि निदर्शनलक्षणेन संग्रहीष्यते, तर्त्कि तस्यपृथग्लक्षणकरणेनेत्या शङ्कया etc. etc. इति विवेक उपपद्यते ।

यत्र सामान्यस्य विशेषस्य वा विशेषेण समर्थनं तन्निदर्शनम् ।
यत्रतु विशेषस्य सामान्येन समर्थनं सोऽर्थान्तरन्यासः ॥

Verse 584 : This would be, according to मम्मट, a variety of निदर्शना which he defines as follows:— " स्वस्वहेत्वन्वयस्योक्तिः क्रिययैव च सापरा."

अर्थशालिन् : a rich man. बन्धनग्रन्थेः from its stem. All the verses cited above are illustrations of agreement. But the following two verses contain illustrations of a negative character.

It should be noted here that the verse 549 is given by मम्मट as an instance of अर्थान्तरन्यास, while the verse 550 is according to मम्मट an illustration of दृष्टान्त.

Verse 549 : A capable man is appointed (liter. is yoked) at the head of affairs, simply because of the bad nature of his merits (said ironically). A fat lazy bull sleeps at ease without his neck being scarred (by the rubbing of yoke).

Verse 550 : Even when you merely desire to wield the sword in your hand, the fighters on the side of your enemies no longer show their mischievous propensities

(शरारता=mischief). The dust settles down when there is no wind.

In both these verses, the illustrations of a गौर्गलिः and पांसवः are just the opposite of धुर्यं and भटाः This is called वैधर्म्येण निदर्शना.

दीपक occurs when there is one subject-matter and one standard of comparison mentioned together by one characteristic (धर्म). This one characteristic, expressed by one word only, serves to qualify both the उपमेय and उपमान. Thus, as a lamp (दीप) standing on the thresh-hold of a door serves to illumine the interior as well as the exterior of a house, so, this figure has in it one word containing a quality common to both the उपमेय and the उपमान. Hence the etymology of the word दीप इव इति दीपकम्.

Verse 551 the Sanskrit rendering of this verse runs thus:—

चन्द्रमयूखैर्निशा नलिनी कमलैः कुसुमगुच्छैर्लता ।
हंसैः सरसशोभा काव्यकथा सज्जनैः गुरुकीक्रियते ॥

Here काव्यकथा is the subject-matter and all others are अप्राकरणिक or अप्रकृत that is mere illustrations and 'are rendered important' (गुरुकी क्रियते) is the quality common to both the उपमेय and a string of उपमानs. Here an objector says that the word गुरुकीक्रियते is a verb and a verb is necessary for a sentence. So a verb common to some subjects should not give rise to any अलङ्कार for there is no beauty in it.

To this हेमचन्द्र replies by saying that the common verb is not the point of beauty in this figure दीपक, but the fact that so many subjects are brought together by means of one common characteristic renders the figure a charming one. The sentence has in it the

sense of resemblance between the प्रस्तुत and the अप्रस्तुत that is between the उपमेय and उपमान, but the sense of resemblance is not as pronounced as in the figure उपमा, and hence the difference between उपमा and this figure of speech. In this figure दीपक, the subject-matter depends entirely on the volition of the speaker. It is bound to differ in very individual case; for instance in the verse 552 there is a string of things which have one common quality जनयति but the subject-matter depends on the volition of the speaker. Thus every time in this figure one thing only becomes the subject-matter and the rest of them become उपमानs-merely illustrations. Intoxication creates joy, joy creates love which chases away all pride, love in its turn creates longing for the union of one's darling and longing results in intolerable agony of mind.

Here, in this verse, the chain of cause and effect does not militate against the figure दीपक, for even in the figure उपमा such chains are permissible. For instance, see the following verse containing उपमा.

The words प्रकृताप्रकृतानाम् in the definition of दीपक can be interpreted in three ways:

(1) One is प्रकृत and the rest are अप्रकृतs (2) all are प्रकृतs. (3) All are अप्रकृतs. The first gives rise to the kind of दीपक which is accepted by all other rhetoricians. But the second and the third kinds of दीपक, based on the second and the third interpretations of the words प्रकृताप्रकृतानां धर्मैक्यम्, is not accepted by others. According to मम्मट and others, where there is a string of प्रकृत things, the figure is तुल्ययोगिता.

Similarly where there is a string of अप्रकृतs only, there also the figure is तुल्ययोगिता. Both these kinds of the figure तुल्ययोगिता are included under दीपक by हेमचन्द्र.

Thus the verse

पाण्डुक्षामं वदनं सरसं हृदयं सवालसं च वपुः।
आवेदयति नितान्तं क्षेत्रियरोगं सखि हृदन्तः॥

is an instance of दीपक according to हेमचन्द्र, though all the things having the common quality of आवेदयति are प्रकृतs.

Verse 554 turned into sanskrit runs thus:—

हंसाना सरोभिः श्रीः सार्यतेऽथ सरसां हंसैः।
अन्योन्यमेवैते आत्मानं गुरूकुर्वन्ति॥

Here सार्यते is the one quality common to हंस and सरस् that are both of them प्रकृतs, still the figure is दीपक.

According to others this is an instance of the figure अन्योन्य. But this figure also is included by हेमचन्द्र under दीपक.

In the verse 'कण्ठस्य तस्याः स्तनबन्धुरस्य' from कुमारसंभव quoted in the commentary, the figure is अन्योन्य according to others, but according to हेमचन्द्र, even here the figure is दीपक.

Verse 555 is cited as instance of तुल्योगिता by मम्मट as there are two strings of things that are all of them अप्रकृत. But हेमचन्द्र gives it as an instance of दीपक.

There is another variety of दीपक named कारकदीपक as illustrated in the verse स्विद्यति कूणति वेल्लति etc. that is recognised by other rhetoricians. It occurs there where is there is a string of verbs with one subject only, common to all these verbs.

According to हेमचन्द्र, however, there is no charm in this figure and hence he does not admit it as a variety of the figure दीपक.

The description of अन्योक्ति as given by हेमचन्द्र here closely follows the description of अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा given by मम्मट in काव्यप्रकाश.

According to मम्मट there are five varieties of अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा which is otherwise called अन्योक्ति.

कार्ये निमित्ते सामान्ये विशेषे प्रस्तुते सति ।
तदन्यस्य वचस्तुल्ये तुल्यस्येति च पञ्चधा ॥

all these five varieties come under the definition of हेमचन्द्र.

The notable feature of this figure is that there is a statement of अप्रस्तुत (i. e. अप्रकृत) things which has a bearing on the thing that is the subject-matter. The indirect thing is only a transparent cloak for the direct thing or the subject-matter.

In short, in अन्योक्ति the apparent meaning of a sentence is not the important one, but the meaning suggested by the words in the sentence is very important. In fact it is the suggested meaning that gives charm to this figure.

Sometimes, however, the apparent meaning also has to be taken into account for it has also its own charm. For instance, in the verse परार्थे यः पीडाम् etc. quoted in the commentary, the apparent meaning as applicable to a sugar-cane plant in a barren soil is also charming; similarly in the verse "प्राणा येन समर्पिताः" (quoted in the commentary) the apparent meaning that is applicable to वेताल is as charming as the inner meaning applicable to an ungrateful man.

Sometimes, however, in अन्योक्ति the apparent meaning has to be discarded altogether: as in the verse "कस्त्वं भो कथमामि" etc.

In this verse, in the apparent meaning there is a dialogue between a शाखोटक tree and the poet, but as it is impossible that a tree can ever speak with a human tongue, the whole apparent meaning must

be rejected and only its application to an unfortunate man is to be admittrd.

Sometimes the apparent meaning has to be partially accepted and partially rejected as in the two verses " उप्पहजायाए " etc. and " सोऽपूर्वैरसना " etc.

Here in ' उप्पहजायाए ' etc. the apparent meaning is with reference to a बदरी tree and the inner meaning is applicable to a wanton woman.

In the verse " सोऽपूर्वैरसना " etc. some of the points in the apparent meaning, as applicable to an intoxicated elephant, are admissible, such as कर्णयोश्चापलं the constant flapping of ears etc., but अन्तःशून्यकरः (with his empty trunk) and other such adjectives do not fit in with the apparent meaning and have, therefore, to be discarded.

Here the commentator quotes the verse

औत्सुक्यगर्भा भ्रमतीव दृष्टिः etc.

and discusses whether in this verse there is the figure अन्योक्ति or not and finally decides that in the verse the figure is not अन्योक्ति but either अर्थान्तरन्यास or निदर्शना.

The rule in this respect as laid down by हेमचन्द्र is this:—

Where in one sentence both the statements प्रस्तुत and अप्रस्तुत are seen having relation of either समर्थ्यसमर्थक or बिंबप्रतिबिंब, there the figure is either निदर्शना or अर्थान्तरन्यास, but where in one sentence the प्रस्तुत is suggested by the अप्रस्तुत which is directly expressed by words, there the figure is अन्योक्ति.

Again in the commentary हेमचन्द्र quotes the very famous verse लावण्यद्रविणव्ययो न गणितः etc. and starts an interesting discussion as to what figure is possible in the verse. According to some, the figure in this verse is

व्याजस्तुति, for it is a veiled praise of the transcendental beauty of the heroine. But हेमचन्द्र objects to this and after an elaborate discussion finally decides that the figure in this verse must be अन्योक्ति.

The verse 557 is an instance of अन्योक्ति: Oh king! being afraid of you, even Indra is frantically preparing himself to encounter you on the battle-field.

Here in this verse the प्रस्तुत statement is that when the king is ready for fight, nobody can afford to sleep soundly. This is a general statement, but instead of this directly expressed, the particular statement, which describes the perturbed state of Indra and his frantic preparation for war, is made in the verse. There is, therefore, a particular statement made here in order to suggest the प्रस्तुत statement – a kind of general statement–that when the king is ready nobody can sleep soundly.

In the verse 558 the poet bemoans the wickedness of this world – a general statement – when in fact he wanted to bemoan the loss of a particular thing which was his प्रस्तुत statement.

Verse 559: those alone are real friends and relatives who are delighted with our prosperity.

Here the प्रस्तुत statement is that the words of such genuine friends should be relied upon, but instead of this, the poet describes the nature of genuine friends. Here, therefore, the कारण statement is given instead of the प्रस्तुत statement dealing with कार्य.

Verse 560: the sanskrit rendering of this verse is as follows:––

स्वर्गमपारिजातं कौस्तुभलक्ष्मीविरहितं मधुमथनस्योरः ।
स्मरामि मथनपुरतोऽमुग्धचन्द्रं च हरजटाप्राग्भारम् ॥

Here the point which is relevent is जाम्बवान्'s old age and skill as being the cause of his appointment as a minister; but instead of referring to that, the recollection of old things such as the chest of Vishnu as being void of कौस्तुभ jewels is mentioned.

The suggestion of a similar thing with a similar thing which is अप्रस्तुत is again done in two ways : (1) by having recourse to adjectives with double meaning and by a similar statement.

Verse 561 contains an अन्योक्ति based on श्लेष.

The characteristics of a lotus and a noble-minded man are desribed by the same words conveying different meaning.

The stalk of a lotus is always in the water; the association of a good man is, very often, with stupid men. Everybody likes the cup of a lotus; everybody likes the treasures of a good man. There is toughness in the stalk of a lotus; a noble person is stern at the time of punishing the guilty. The opening part of a lotus is very soft; a noble man possesses a sweet tongue. A lotus is always inclined towards the sun; a good man is well-disposed towards his friends. A lotus has fibres from its very stem; a good man has predilection for the merits in others. A lotus has a natural repugnance to the moon, as a good man has for a man full of demerits. It is quite natural, therefore, that a lotus and the Goddess of beauty should dwell together i. e. a lotus should look beautiful; it is natural that a good man should possess wealth.

By describing a lotus the poet suggests all the characteristics of a good man.

In the verse 562 by means of a similarity the thing which is प्रस्तुत is suggested.

Verse 562: what is gained by this wicked ocean by hoarding waters from all the rivers? It has turned these waters into salt; some of the waters he has thrown into the submarine fire; and the rest he has thrown into the recesses of the nether worlds.

The प्रस्तुत meaning that is suggested is that of a wicked person that hoards money by wicked and unjust means and eventually wastes it.

It is to be noted here that in the above kind of अन्योक्ति (i. e. तुल्यं तुल्येन) the adjectives alone should have double meaning but the noun should not be one of double-meaning. If the noun is also श्लिष्ट the figure in that case will not be अन्योक्ति but something else. For instance in the verse 563 the word पुरुषोत्तम with all its qualifying adjectives, conveys a double meaning that of Vishnu and the best of men. Therefore in this verse, according to हेमचन्द्र, there is no अन्योक्ति but शब्दशक्तिमूल ध्वनि. For after the apparent meaning that of the ideal man (who gives up his manhood, accepts low position etc.) has been understood, another meaning that of the God Vishnu (who became the woman मोहिनी; who went beneath the earth in the incarnations मत्स्य, कच्छ and वराह; who while begging as वामन assumed a huge form etc.) strikes the mind of the reader. But as this meaning is not प्रस्तुत and is not dependent upon the adjectives merely, the figure अन्योक्ति can not be admitted here.

Sometimes in अन्योक्ति there is a veiled applause. Sometimes there is a veiled censure, while sometimes there is applause as well as censure. In the verse नालस्य प्रसरः etc. there is a veiled praise of a good man, in the verse आदाय वारि etc. the ocean is censured.

Sometimes, however, in one and the same अन्योक्ति there is both praise and censure as in the verse following (564).

The poet first condemns ordinary hogs by saying that they are given birth to by their unfortunate mothers only to uproot the lotus plants, to make the earth uneven and to make the waters of a pond turbid with mud; but he praises the blessed mother of that Hog (the third incarnation of Vishnu) on whose tusk rested the earth in calamity, the tusk which was drenched by four oceans. Here we find both स्तुति and निन्दा. Sometimes in अन्योक्ति we find neither, as in the verse 565.

" Oh ! how vast, glorious and all enduring is the form of the ocean ! In one of its corners lies down God Vishnu, in another, is the city of his enemies (that is the demons); at another place the bird-like mountains (the winged mountains) are hiding themselves; still in another of its corners, is the submarine fire along with the fires that work destruction of the world."

Here the dominant feeling is one of wonder and the minor notes of praise and censure are merged in it.

The figure पर्यायोक्त :—

Where the suggested sense (व्यङ्ग्य) is expressed not in a straight way but in a picturesque way, there the figure is पर्यायोक्त. In अन्योक्ति the suggested sense is not expressed, but it is simply implied through the apparent meaning, hence the difference between these two figures.

Verse 566 is an instance of पर्यायोक्त.

भीष्म showed the path of righteousness to परशुराम the sage who was going astray and who was swayed

by the desire of destroying his enemies. Now 'showed the path of righteousness' is a funny way of saying that भीष्म defeated परशुराम. At any rate the suggested sense is mentioned here. In अन्योक्ति the suggested sense has got to be inferred from the apparent meanning.

The figure अतिशयोक्ति:—

When with a view to describe the matter in hand in a picturesque way the poets takes recourse to some exaggeration, the figure is अतिशयोक्ति. The following are the kinds of अतिशयोक्ति.

(1) When the real difference between two things is deliberately concealed by identifying completely the two things. For instance in verse 567:—

"Who is this moon, on earth, moon with no deer on it? Friend! cast your glance at the terrace above and just think for a while. This (strange) moon is followed by the चकोर birds in the garden with a desire to drink the nectar-moon that sheds a pure light as white as the ripe fruits of लवली.

Here the king (in विद्धशालभञ्जिका) has completely identified the face of मृगाङ्कवती with the moon, though in reality there was a difference between them two.

The verse 561 is an instance of the same kind of अतिशयोक्ति. The sanskrit rendering of the verse is as follows:—

अयि देवर किं न प्रेक्षसे, आकाशं किं मुधा प्रलोकयसि।
जायाया बाहुमूले अर्धचन्द्राणां परिपाटी॥

"Why do you look at the sky for the moon unnecessarily? There is a line of cresent-shaped moons in the armpit of your wife.

Here the prints of nails are identified with the crescent-shaped moons.

(2) In the second kind of अतिशयोक्ति, difference is shown where there is really identification.

The verse 569 is an instance of this kind.

The sanskrit rendering of this verse is as follows:

अन्यल्लटभत्वमिदं अन्यैव कापि वर्तनच्छाया।
श्यामा सामान्य प्रजापते रेखैव न भवति॥

श्यामा a beautiful woman.

Though the woman was the creation of the ordinary creator, she is said to be a creation of some new creator.

(3) The third kind of अतिशयोक्ति occurs where the connection of a thing with something else, though real, is denied. Verse 570 is an instance of this kind:

Verse 570 " Women, going to meet their lovers, had worn garlands of मल्लिका flowers, were clad in white silken garments, and had applied paste of white sandal to their bodies; they, were, therefore, not at all distinguished in the moon-light.

Here the connection of women with the act of distinguishing is denied. In reality they could be distinguished.

It is to be noted that this variety of अतिशयोक्ति is separately treated by other rhetoricians in the two figures सामान्य and मीलित.

Verse 571 is another instance of this kind of अतिशयोक्ति.

All the natural graces of the woman were exactly like the signs of intoxication. The fact, therefore, that she was intoxicated with wine was totally concealed. Here the connection between मदोदय and लक्ष्यते is denied even though it is there in realily.

Verse 572 is also an instance of the third kind

of अतिशयोक्ति. The sanskrit rendering of the verses is as follows:—

एतदपि न सत्यापितो यस्या प्रसरत्पल्लवारुणरागः ।
मज्जनताम्रयोर्मदस्तथा मदताम्रयोर्लोचनयोरमर्षः ॥

Here the red colour of the eyes after a bath and the red colour of the eyes on account of intoxication are said to be undistinguishable from each other. In reality they could be distinguished.

(4) The fourth variety of अतिशयोक्ति is just the opposite of the third one. Here two things are connected, though in reality there is no connection between them.

Verse 573 is an instance of this kind of अतिशयोक्ति.

The moon rose scattering her rays, but even before that, the ocean of love (in the hearts) of women began to heave.

Here the heaving of the ocean before the moon-rise is not a matter of fact, still the two statements 'the ocean began to heave' and 'before the moon-rise' are brought together and connected.

Verse 574 is another instance of the fourth variety.

The cities (in the kingdom of the king) were replete with beautiful women; these women again, were lovely in all their limbs.

Here, in reality, the cities were not full of beautiful women, but the poet connects the two things: cities and beautiful women.

Similarly in the following verse (575) the poet says "There was not a single watery place that was not full of charming lotuses etc."

Here the statement that every watery place was full of lotuses is not true. But the poet has merely brought together the two things, watery places and lotuses.

It should be noted that मम्मट in his काव्यप्रकाश has given these two verses as instances of the figure एकावलि which he treats as a seperate figure and defines as follows:—

स्थाप्यतेऽपोह्यते वापि यथापूर्वं परंपरम् ।
विशेषणतया यत्र वस्तु सैकावली द्विधा ॥

The beautiful manner of putting together several statements in the form of a chain is the remarkable feature of the figure एकावली, and it is this that distinguishes this figure from others. It is difficult to understand, therefore, why हेमचन्द्र should include this figure under अतिशयोक्ति. अयोगेऽपि योगः, that is to say, bringing together two unconnected ideas is so common that it can be found in many other figures of speech. As भामह has rightly remarked:—

सैषा सर्वत्र वक्रोक्तिरनयार्थो विभाव्यते ।
यत्नोऽस्यां कविना कार्यो कोऽलंकारोऽनया विना ॥

अतिशयोक्ति is almost indispensable to every figure of speech. But merely on that account the inclusion of these figures under अतिशयोक्ति would be utterly ridiculous. Special features, therefore, that are really charming must give rise to different figures of speech.

The same objection can be raised against हेमचन्द्र's inclusion of the figures निदर्शना and विशेष under the figure अतिशयोक्ति. Especially the subvariety of निदर्शना, as illustrated in the verse "उदयति विततोर्ध्वरश्मि etc." quoted below, deserves seperate treatment, for it is based on the idea of resemblance and cannot, therefore, be included under अतिशयोक्ति.

Verse 576, contains a description of the mountain रैवतक (modern गिरनार in Kathiawar.)

The mountain is so high that the rising sun and

the setting moon hang to its two sides. It, therefore, looks like a huge elephant with two silver bells hanging from his two sides.

Here a mountain is said to possess the beauty of an elephant which is not a fact.

Again in the verse 577 which says that even when the great poets have gone to heaven, their merits remain behind for a long time, the idea of the merits of poets remaining behind them in different places is not true.

Similarly verse 578 is also an instance of the fourth variety of अतिशयोक्ति.

In this verse the same woman is said to dwell in the heart, eyes, and speech of her lover which is impossible.

The last two verses have been given by मम्मट as instances of the figure विशेष which he defines as:—

" विना प्रसिद्धमाधारमाधेयस्य व्यवस्थितिः ।
एकात्मा युगपद्वृत्तिरेकस्यानेकगोचरा ॥ "

The figure आक्षेप : आक्षेप is of two kinds:—

(1) When a statement is abruptly left unfinished even when the speaker desires to make it in full, it is the first kind of आक्षेप. The abrupt ending of the statement is deliberate, for the speaker, thereby, wants to convey the idea that the statement is either too well-known or is impossible to utter. In this idea lies the charm of the figure.

Verse 579 is an instance of this variety of आक्षेप.

" If even for a single moment you are away from me, but no, it is no use saying anything further on this unwelcome subject." The speaker, here, means to say that she would surely die, but deliberately leaves her

statement unsaid to show that her condition during her lover's absence will be indescribably serious.

Sometimes the statement in question is fully said and then the words "What is the use of saying all this" are added at the end. This is also the first kind of आक्षेप.

The verse 580 is an instance of this kind of आक्षेप.

All the cool things such as the moonlight, a necklace of pearls etc. burn her as if they were a huge fire, on account of your swaying her heart. But what is the use of saying all this?

When the standard of comparison is rejected or when its excellence is questioned that is also the figure आक्षेप. Verse 581 is an instance of this आक्षेप which is specially named उपमानाक्षेप.

When her face is there what is the use of a full moon? Oh! strange is the obstinacy on the part of the creator in creating things that are not wanted (that are superfluous).

This is considered as an instance of प्रतीप by other rhetoricians.

The following verse is also an instance of आक्षेप according to हेमचन्द्र, but it is given as an instance of प्रतीप by the another of कुवलयानंद.

In this verse (582) the standard of comparison is given the secondary place of an उपमेय and hence it is उपमानाक्षेप.

The same is the case in the following verse (583) Oh हालाहल! (the virulent poison!) do not think that you are the foremost of all deadly things, for in this world there are the words of villains as fatal as you are.

Here the position of उपमान is questioned and hence

the figure is आक्षेप according to हेमचन्द्र and प्रतीप according to others.

विरोध :

It is to be noted here that in this figure the contradiction, of things, qualities, actions and proper nouns to one another must be only apparent; if the contradiction is real, then the statement would be absurd. The contradiction, again, may be either between two things or with itself. The figure व्याघात which is based on the idea of self-contradiction by others need not, therefore, be treated as a seperate figure. The contradiction of जाति (a thing) with जाति (another thing) is illustrated in the verse 584.

Victory to the Lord who in one body assumes, at one and the same time, the form of a man, a lion, a human being and a hog.

Here the contradiction is between the different forms; but this contradiction can be explained away by saying that the one body is the eternal form of the Almighty.

In verse 585 the contradiction is between the quality of a Brahmin and the quality of valour; but it can be removed by saying that it was indeed a fact that all these persons were Brahmins as well as brave.

Verse 586 is an example of a contradiction between a thing and a proper noun.

Even the Lord of this Universe became a fish ! The word अवसरवशतः removes the contradiction. The Lord became a fish for the times demanded that it should be so.

Verse 587: Oh Lord ! You are straight or erect even though you are bent with age. You are pure (clean) though you are soiled with sacrificial smokes.

सरल of a candid heart (2) erect.

विमल of a pure heart (2) clean.

Contradiction between a quality and an action:—

Verse 588: The soft words of villain burn; but the harsh words of a pious man gladden the heart.

Contradiction between a quality and a proper noun (i. e. the name of some person) is illustrated in the verse 589:—

भार्गव (परशुराम) was indeed an extra-ordinary person, for by the sharp and unimpeded descent of his arrow even the क्रौंच mountain, strong with its huge boulders became as soft as a fresh lotus.

Contradiction between one action and another is illustrated in the verse 590:—

Strange, really, is the course of life of this lady. She benumbs as well as torments me; she is away from me but at the same time lives in my heart.

जडयति (1) cools (2) benumbs with joy.

संतापयति (1) burns (2) torments.

Contradiction between an action and a name is shown in verse 521:—

अग्निः proper noun of a god ददाह burns (an action).

'Fire did not burn' is a contradiction.

Contradiction between two proper nouns is illustrated in the verse 592:—

Even the Ganges (शंकर-चूडापगा) becomes (is turned into) the river Jamuna (कालिन्दी) when the former is mixed with the river of ichor flowing from the temples of your elephants.

"The Ganges is turned into the river Jamuna" is a contradiction.

Thus there are ten varities of विरोध whenever there is a mutual contradiction.

The instances of self-contradiction are given below:

Verse 593: "The hearts of good men are pure without being washed". This statement is self-contradictory. This is treated seperately as the figure विभावना (विभावना विनाऽपिस्यात्कारणं कार्यजन्म यत्'--चंद्रालोक) by other rhetoricians.

Verse 594: In spite of the fact that he was born in a high family and was endowed with a handsome form, he was not happy.

This is treated seperately as the figure विशेषोक्ति.

(विशेषोक्तिरखण्डेषु कारणेषु फलावचः -- कुवलयानंद)

Verse 595: Even when the God Shambhu burnt the body of cupid, he was as potent as ever.

This, as well as the following verse, is given as an instance of विशेषोक्ति by मम्मट and others.

Vesre 596: 'Even when burnt, cupid is puissant as ever.' When the cause residing at one place gives rise to the effect at altogether a different place, it is also the figure विरोध. This is treated seperately as the figure असंगति by मम्मट and others.

Verse 597 is given as an instance of असंगति in साहित्यदर्पण: She is a young girl, but we are acting in a childish manner etc.

The cause is youth that resides in the lady, but the effect -- childishness -- is seen elsewhere (in us). This is contradictory.

Verse 598: The black smoke in his scarifices gave birth to extremely white fame and hence the contradiction. This is regarded as विषम by मम्मट and others.

Verse 599: You are gladdening me, but your seperation torments me – this is a contradictory statement.

This verse is given as an instance of विषम by मम्मट.

Verse 600 shows contrast between the tenderness of the body of a woman and the fierceness of the fire of love.

This is given as an instance of विषमालंकार (first variety) by मम्मट and others. कुकूलाग्नि: = a fire made of chaff.

In the verse 601 the incompalibility is shown between the two ideas that of the vastness of the form of Krishna and that of its being completely surveyed by the eye of a woman is Hastinapur. This verse has been given as an instance of विषम by मम्मट.

Verse 602: Even when the three worlds are obtained, a large-hearted man, being engrossed with the care of maintaining his dependents, is at a loss to understand as to how much he should give to others and how much he should keep for himself.

Here thc contradiction lies between the vastness of the three worlds and their being inadequate for a charitable man.

Verse 603: Oh king! vast indeed must be the interior of the three worlds, for even your immeasurable fame is contained in it.

Here the contradiction is shown in the limitless fame being limited by the three worlds.

This and the above verse would be instances of अधिकालंकार according to मम्मट and his followers.

The definition of अधिक as given by मम्मट is as follows:—

महतोर्यन्महीयांसावाश्रिताश्रययोः क्रमात् ।
आश्रयाश्रयिणौ स्यातां तनुत्वेऽप्यधिकं तु तत् ॥

Verse 604 : The great joy that I feel at being honoured by you is not contained by my limbs spreading over all the quarters–said by Himalaya to the sages.

Here the idea that even the vast limbs of Himalaya could not contain the great joy gives rise to a contradiction. This verse, again, would be an instance of अधिक according to मम्मट.

Verse 605 is the नान्दी verse (first benedictory verse) from राजशेखर's drama (विद्धशालभञ्जिका): —

I extol the beautiful women, the conquerors of Shankar, who by their eyes revived cupid who was burnt by Shankar with his (third) eye.

In one case the eye was the cause of the burning of cupid, but in another case it was the cause of reviving him – and hence the contradiction. This is admitted as an instance of व्याघातालङ्कार by मम्मट and several other rhetoricians.

व्याघात is defined by मम्मट as follows:—

यद्यथा साधितं केनाप्यपरेण तदन्यथा।
तथैव यद्विधीयेत स व्याघात इति स्मृतः॥

The following verse (606) when rendered into sanskrit would read as follows:—

धवलोऽसि यद्यपि सुन्दर! तथापि त्वया मम रञ्जितं हृदयम्।
रागभरितेऽपि हृदये सुभग निहितोऽपि न रक्तोसि॥

Here there is a pun on the words रञ्जित, राग and रक्त.

रञ्जित (1) made full of love (2) rendered red.

राग (1) red colour (2) love.

रक्त (1) full of love (2) red.

Even when you are white (in complexion) you have rendered my heart red (full of love).

That a white thing should make another thing red is a contradiction; and that a thing placed in a

red thing should not become red is also a contradication. These contradictions based on colours are treated seperately by मम्मट and others under the figure अतद्गुण which is defined by मम्मट as:—

" तद्रूपाननुहारश्चेदस्य तत्स्यादतद्गुणः "

Thus we see that seven figures treated independently by other rhetoricians have been included under the figure विरोध by हेमचन्द्र, on the plea that such minor varieties, if treated seperately, would land us into a bewildering infinity of figures of speech.

सहोक्तिः—

This figure is based on the idea of stating two things with a common characteristic in one sentence with the help of the word सह (or its synonyms). The figure requires that the idea of two (or more) things being thus brought together in one sentence must have some striking feature, and this striking feature is usually found in bringing together one abstract and one concrete thing. For instance, in the illustration of सहोक्ति given below (verse 607) the idea that रघु fell down along with tears of his soldiers is really pictutesque, and is based on the idea of bringing together the actual falling of रघु and the consequent grief of the soldiers, which latter is an abstract idea.

In the verse 608, another instance of सहोक्ति, we find the same thing.

'The nights have become long along with my breathing.' The length of night is as regards time and the length of breathing is connected with space.

Similarly, full-moon nights have become pale along with my limbs i. e. I have become pale (and emaciated) as I have to pass the full-moon nights in sleeplessness.

In the following sutra, the figure समासोक्ति has been defined. When the standard of comparison is suggested by means of the adjectives qualifying the subject-matter in hand (उपमेय)—these adjectives conveying double meaning—there is the figure called समासोक्ति.

समासेन संक्षेपेणार्थद्वयकथनात् because this figure suggests two meanings by means of one word only it is called समासोक्ति (saying in brief).

Verse 609 is an instance in point:—

The red moon so clung to the beginning of night (in which the stars were twinkling) that it (night) did not notice the whole mass of darkness (like a piece of cloth) slipping from it owing to redness.

This is only the apparent meaning. The inward meaning suggested by means of words conveying double sense is this:—

The loving moon so passionately kissed the mouth of night (with the moving pupils of her eye) that she (the night) did not notice (being overcome with the passion of love) her black garment slipping from her body.

By this description of moon-rise the love-amours of the moon and the night are suggested.

A question arises here as to whether in the above verse there is a mixture of समासोक्ति and the figure श्लेष, for words with double meaning are freely used in this verse.

The answer given by हेमचन्द्र to the above question is this:—

If समासोक्ति would have been found, somewhere at least, totally detached from श्लेष, then in this verse there would have been a mixture of समासोक्ति and श्लेष. But

as a matter of fact समासोक्ति does never exist detached from श्लेष; therefore, here in this verse, there is no mixture of श्लेष and समासोक्ति but only समासोक्ति based on श्लेष.

The figure जाति that follows occurs where there is a description of the characteristics of a thing, a person or some being. It may also contain a description of the particular pose of some person at a particular time. Verse 610 is an illustration of जाति which is named as स्वभावोक्ति by other rhetoricians.

" The princes whose thighs were slipping from the saddles, who were adjusting the skirts of their upper garments with their hands, who were frightened by the prancing steeds, who could not control the reins of horses, who were looking about with vacant gaze, and who appeared just like Brahmins, declared as it were that their wealth was hereditary (i. e. they were not real Kshatriya warriors).

Another picture of a pose is given in verse 611:— He (God Shiva) saw cupid ready to aim at him; he (cupid) had strung the bow-string with his fist right up to his right eye; his shoulders were bent; his right knee was contracted; his bow had become almost circular.

Particular action is described in verse 612:—

I remember (says Rati to cupid) your pose when you, taking your bow on your lap, stretched your arrow; and while doing so, you were smiling and conversing with the spring and looking about with a slanting gaze.

व्याजस्तुति, a figure that follows, occurs when an apparently eulogistic remark is meant to be really a censure, and when apparent censure is made with the inward desire of praising a person.

Verse 613 is an instance in point:—

The day is over, we have taken rest, Oh well in Marwad! You have laid us under great obligations; we are unable to speak further. May you be full of water by the merit of travellers and let the शमी tree standing in your vicinity be full of deep shade.

The inner meaning of the verse is exactly opposite to the apparent meaning. The speaker could not get even a drop of water from the well and was cursing it inwardly.

Apparent censure conveying the sense of praise also gives rise to this figure (व्याजस्तुति). This is illustrated in verse 614:—

It is not fair to talk of the private things of others, but the fact is that your beloved fame is roaming about everywhere like an intoxicated woman etc.

The poet means that the fame of the king has spread far and wide—an instance of apparent censure but inward praise.

When a sentence yields more than one sense, even when the words therein are having one sense only, then the figure is श्लेष.

The verse 615 is an instance.

This king विभाकर illumines all the quarters with his lusture spreading everywhere; whom does he not, therefore, gladden ?

This is one meaning of the sentence, but the power of direct meaning of words being unrestricted, another sense that with regard to the sun is yielded by the sentence. विभाकर=The sun.

व्यतिरेक occurs when:—

(1) The उपमेय is shown to have something more than the उपमान.

(2) This additional quality of the उपमेय may show either its superiority or inferiority over the उपमान.

(3) This superiority or inferiority may either be directly said or suggested.

(4) The words showing resemblance may be used or may not be used.

Thus in all व्यतिरेक is of eight kinds.

Verse 616 आवर्जयत: surpassing. Here गाम्भीर्यैकनिधे: shows (directly) the superiority of the king over all other persons.

If in this verse तुच्छस्यान्यजनस्येव is taken to be the reading, then 'तुच्छ' directly shows the inferiority of the उपमान (अन्यजन).

In verse 617 असिमात्रसहाय: and धृतैर्निधिः show directly the superiority of the king over other persons. अन्य-तुच्छजनवत् shows the inferiority of other persons.

Both the superiority of the king and the inferiority of other persons are directly and simultaneously shown here. In verse 618 both the superiority of the woman practising austere penance and the inferiority of other ascetics are not directly expressed.

In all the four instances mentioned above, the word expressing resemblance is used.

But in the following four instances this word (उपमावाचक) is not used.

जयत्येषा सरोरुहम् etc. has no उपमावाचक.

In 621 there is neither any mention of the superiority of the उपमेय nor of the inferiority of the उपमान.

Sometimes श्लेष comes with the figure व्यतिरेक, but it, then, becomes a case of the figure सङ्कर and will be treated under सङ्कर.

अर्थान्तरन्यास is the next figure of speech. It occurs

when a particular statement is corroborated by a general statement. Thus the case of a general statement being corroborated by a particular statement does not come under this figure, as has been clearly discussed before.

Verse 622 is an instance in point. Even though he was hostile to Krishna, he admired him (Krishna), naturally because great men are admirers of merits, even when they happen to be hostile by some reason or other.

Verse 623 is an instance of अर्थान्तरन्यास in which the particular statement is supported by the general one in an indirect manner.

"A woman, though drinking wine, did not get tipsy, for she was afraid lest her husband would in that case transfer his love to another woman" is a particular statement; now the direct general statement following would be:—

'Disturbed mind is not susceptible to inebriation', but, instead of this, we find the indirect statement: it is in a happy condition of mind alone that a man gets tipsy.

ससन्देह is a figure where some doubt is expressed about a thing in hand. It must, of course, be based on resemblance. Very often the figure stands on the basis of another figure (अलङ्कारान्तरगर्भीकारेण). It is of two kinds:—

(1) When the doubt is dispelled in the end.

(2) When the doubt persists even to the last.

When one doubt is removed, the poet gives reason of his being free from doubt.

But sometimes he gives no reason of his freedom from doubt.

In the verses 624–625 a woman is bending over a host of lotuses and her friends are not able to distinguish her from the lotuses. Hence the series of doubts:—

Are these her eyes or petals of lotuses with bees perched on them ? etc.

Here, obviously, metaphor is the figure on which this ससन्देह is based. In this case a decision is arrived at in the end.

But in 626 the doubt remains as it is; the basic figure is अतिशयोक्ति.

In 627 a doubt is raised : Is this king the sun ? and then the decision is also stated : no, he can not be the Sun. Then the reason is given : he can not be be the Sun, for the sun travels with seven horses, while this king has only four horses for his chariot etc.

Here the basic figure is metaphor.

अपन्हुति is a figure when the subject in hand is concealed either by another subject in hand or by another thing (अप्रकृत).

In the verse 628 the tremor of the hand of Shiva is concealed by the cold felt by the touch of the Himalaya.

In the following verse the humming of the bees is denied by saying that it is the twanging of the cupid's bow (a subject not in hand i. e. अप्रकृत).

अपन्हुति is based on resemblance and is expressed in a variety of ways. Verse 630 is an instance of this: कार्तिकेय does not sit on the peacock but on the lotuselike eyes of the goddesses. The picturesque feathers of the peacock of कार्तिकेय are concealed by saying that they are (like) the beautiful eyes of the goddesses.

परिवृत्तिः is two-fold:—

(1) One thing occupying different places.

(2) Many things occupying the same place by turns.

These two come under पर्याय a subdivision of परिवृत्ति.

And (1) exchange of like things.

(2) exchange of a superior thing with an inferior thing.

(3) exchange of an interior thing with a superior thing.

These three are the varieties of the second subdivision of परिवृत्ति.

Thus, we see that two distinct figures of speech पर्याय and परिवृत्ति are combined by हेमचन्द्र into one figure, contrary to the usual practice of all other rhetoricians. We don't see any justification for his combination.

Verse 631 is an instance of पर्यायः the राग (colour, love) that was seen on the nether-lip of one woman now occupied the eyes of her co-wife.

The verse 632 is an instance of the exchange of like things : she gives her foot (i. e. kicks the Ashoka tree) and takes in exchange its tender leaves for her ear-ornament.

In the verses 633 and 634 the exchange is unequal. He gave protection to heaven and took low rank for himself (633).

जटायु gave his tottering old body and took, in exchange, eternal fame.

The next figure अनुमान includes in it अर्थापत्तिप्रमाण also. This अनुमान, of course, must not be a bald inference void of beauty.

In the verse 635 there is a beautiful inference:

" You must have fallen at her feet, for there appear marks of red lac on your forehead. "

Again in verse 636 : 'She must have got the waist, otherwise what can support her bulky breasts ?'

In 637 from the closing of the lotus, night is inferred and hence the figure is अनुमान.

It should be noted that this verse is given by many rhetoricians as an instance of—सूक्ष्मालङ्कार a figure which occurs when something subtle is suggested by some subtle action (here the closing of lotus petals).

The figure स्मृति is necessarily based on resemblance: ' He saw a flock of hopping खञ्जन birds and was reminded of the eye-glances of his beloved' (638).

If after seeing a similar thing a man actually identifies it with the thing that is uppermost in his mind and acts in a strange manner under the illusion, then the figure is भ्रान्तिमान्.

The bees thought or rather mistook the eyes of the woman for lotuses and began to hover round them. (639).

When no desired fruit is gained by a person, but, on the other hand, he meets with a disaster, the figure is विषम.

" I surveyed her for pleasure but got, instead, longing, agony etc. " (640)

When two mutually fitting things are united the figure is सम. Both things are either good or bad.

In the verse 641, a handsome person is described to have been united with a beautiful damsel – both of them being excellent.

But in 642 the crows and the bitter fruits of निम्ब tree come together – a fitting union again !

In the following सूत्र (28) the author again combines the two figures समाधि and समुच्चय into one, and names it as समुच्चय.

Even when one thing alone is competent enough to bring about a certain result, other things flock (unnecessarily) there and accentuate the result, the figure is समुच्चय.

Even only one cause (the shafts of love) is enough to kill the poor love-lorn lady, why talk then of all the causes combined? (643)

When one cause is on the point of bringing about the desired result and another cause comes in to facilitate the result, the figure is समुच्चय.

He fell at her feet to remove her anger, and lo! all of a sudden, there was a thundering of clouds' (she at once forgot her anger and nestled in his arms!) (644)

When one is bent upon doing one thing but unexpectedly another result is produced, the figure is समुच्चय.

The creator intended to create you but (unexpectedly) created the cupid, the sun etc. (645). It means: 'you are like the cupid, the sun etc.'

When two qualities appear or two actions happen simaltaneously, the figure is समुच्चय.

For instance, the forces of the king appeared glorious and the forces of the enemy appeared dark with defeat, simultaneously. (Verse 646)

God Shiva began to look at Parvati and at the very moment cupid aimed the arrow at him (Shiva) (verse 647). Qualities and actions, when described as happening simultaneously, also give rise to this figure; for instance verse 648, says:--The eye of the King became dark (full of anger–a quality.) and calamity fell on the head of the enemies (fell-an action) simultaneously.

परिसंख्या is limiting a thing to one particular place and denying its existence in other places. The figure may either start with a question or independently.

With questions:-what is the ornament of the great ?

Answer:—' character '.

Anything made of gold can not be said to be the ornament of the great (649)

Similarly the verse 650 starts with a question and the answer is simply दैवगतिः, the statement ' and not etc.' is not added here.

परिसंख्या without a question preceeding, is illustrated in the verse 65: ' Regard religion, and not wealth, as your real wealth etc. '

Similarly, ' crookedness was to be seen only in her hair ' etc. (652).

The figure सार is also included by हेमचन्द्र under परिसंख्या (see the verse 653).

' One ought to make use of one's money in giving etc. ' is also an instance of परिसंख्या.

Similarly in प्रौढमहिलानां यत् सुष्टु शिक्षितम् etc,, the figure is परिसंख्या, for it says that nothing but that alone is charming.

When from a question an answer is inferred and vice versa, the figure is अनुमान, as in the verse वाणिजक हस्तिदंताः etc. (656).

Or in the verse 657, ' I shall do everything as you ask me to do, provided I am master of myself when he stands before me ' seems to be an answer of the preceeding question made by the friends of the heroine. From the answer given, the question is inferred here and hence the figure is अनुमान.

In कारणमाला (the next figure) the first thing

stated is the cause of the second; the second, of the third and so on.

For instance, " A poor man feels ashamed; when he thus feels ashamed, he loses his spirit; when he loses his spirit, he is insulted – and so on" (658).

If a certain thing is said to be the cause of another, it gives rise to the figure हेतु from the stand-point of other rhetoricians; but हेमचन्द्र objects to this and says that the figure हेतु should not be admitted at all because there is no beauty in merely mentioning a pair of cause and effect.

Here the list of the figures of speech (both regarding words and sense) comes to an end. Now in the following Sutra the peculiar figure सङ्कर is defined.

सङ्कर occurs, where in the same verse two or more figures of speech come together. They may either be figures of words or figures of sense.

This coming together of two or more figures in the same verse is of four kinds:—

(1) Sometimes two such figures are found together in a verse, but without having any relation to each other, that is to say, they are found in one verse, but are independent of each other.

For instance, in कुसुमसौरभ etc. (verse 659) the two figures of words यमक and अनुप्रास are found together, but are independent of each other.

Similarly in the verse 660, the first line contains उत्प्रेक्षाः–the darkness is as it were clinging to the body etc., and in the second line the figure is उपमा.

In the verse 661, again, अनुप्रास (in महमहन्तलायण्णम् etc.) and रूपक (in तरुणाण हिअयलूडि, the thief of the hearts of youths) stand together independently.

(2) Sometimes one figure gives rise to another figure and thus becomes a means (अङ्ग) of another figure (अङ्गिन्).

For instance in 662 the poet says:—

" Oh King ! when the whole world is whitened with your fame, a शबरी picks up the fruits of jujube; a crow standing before the owls appears to be a swan; and Laxmi feels nervous before कृष्ण who now looks like बलराम (white – complexioned brother of Krishna).

Here the figure अतिशयोक्ति (in the statement ' the world is whitened with your fame ') gives rise to the figure भ्रान्तिमत् (in the statements of the शबरी, crow etc.).

Similarly, in the verse 663 the chief figure is व्यतिरेक (the king being shown superior to the ocean), but this व्यतिरेक is helped by श्लेष in स जडात्मा meaning a fool and a watery thing).

Again in 664, the chief figure is विरोध (in कृष्णार्जुनानुरक्ता अपि कर्णावलम्बिनी) but it is supported by the figure श्लेष (in कृष्ण, अर्जुन, कर्ण etc.).

Similarly, in ' आक्षिपत्यरविन्दानि etc. (verse 665) the main figure is अर्थान्तरन्यास (what is impossible for a person equipped with कोश and दण्ड ?), but it does not stand unless we take श्लेष (in the words कोश and दण्ड).

(3) Sometimes it is difficult to decide what particular figure is in a verse, for the words as they stand are capable of being interpreted in favour of two or more figures. This is the third variety of सङ्करालङ्कार. usually, however, in such cases one particular figure cannot be fixed up, because of the absence of context for the verse.

The illustration of this sort of सङ्कर is given in 666.

निर्गण्डदुरारोहां मा पुत्रक पाटलीं समारुहस्व ।
आरूढनिपतिता केऽनया न कृता इह ग्रामे ॥

Here the context is not given; naturally, therefore, one feels a doubt as to whether पाटल tree is अप्रस्तुत and पोटा (a virago) is the subject in hand – and thus the figure is अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा or the पाटल tree is प्रस्तुत and thus the figure is समासोक्ति (suggesting the episode of a bad woman). The figure is finally left undecided giving place to both and hence the सङ्कर.

Similarly in the verse ' नयनानन्ददायी etc. (667).

If (1) इदं इन्दोबिम्बम् stands for मुख, the figure is रूपकातिशयोक्ति or अतिशयोक्ति.

If (2) इदम् stands for मुखम्, then the figure is रूपक मुखम् = इन्दोर्बिम्बम्

If (3) the context is that of describing the brightness of the face and the moon is अप्रस्तुत, the figure will be अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा.

If (4) the word इदम् stands for मुख and the verb प्रसीदति is common to मुख and बिम्ब, then the figure is दीपक (one verb for प्रस्तुत and अप्रस्तुत).

If again (5) the verse describes an evening, then the words नयनानन्ददायि and others suggest the beautiful face of a woman and the figure would then be समासोक्ति.

And lastly if (6) the verse means to say: ' This is the time, when the feeling of love is stimulated, then the figure is पर्यायोक्तम्.

Thus, six different figures are possible in this verse and the figure is संशयसङ्कर.

Similarly in ' शशिवदना ' etc. (verse 668).

All the epithets (शशिवदना etc.) are such as can be regarded as favourable both to उपमा and to रूपक and hence the figure is सङ्कर.

But when there is, at least, one word that is definitely more in favour of a particular figure, than

it is of others, then, there being no doubt, the figure is not सङ्कर.

For instance in the line :

मोहमहाचलदलने साशनिशितकोटिरेकाऽपि (सा means devotion). If instead of completely identifying भक्ति with अशनिकोटि, we merely compare devotion to the sharp end of a thunderbolt, then the breaking (of the mountain of temptation) is not possible. Hence the word दलन goes in favour of the figure रूपक and thus there is no संशय-सङ्कर in this line.

Similarly in the line ज्योत्स्नेव हास्यद्युतिराननेन्दोः, if आननेन्दु is taken as a रूपकसमास, that is to say, if इन्दु (the moon) is given prominence, the light of laughter will not be possible. The compound आननेन्दु must be dissolved, therefore, as आननं इन्दुरिव. Thus the word हास्य is in favour of the figure उपमा.

Again in the line स्मरन्ति ज्योत्स्नायाः शशिमुखि चकोराः etc., the words स्मरन्ति चकोराः require that the moon (and not the face) should be given prominence; that is to say, the figure must be रूपक, otherwise the statement that the चकोर birds are reminded of the moon-light will not be justified.

Similarly, in the line राजनारायणं लक्ष्मीस्त्वामालिङ्गति etc., राजनारायण must be taken as a रूपक compound giving prominence to the word नारायण, otherwise the embracing of Laxmi will not be possible.

Thus the statement 'Laxmi embraces you' goes definitely against the figure उपमा and hence the only figure here is रूपक.

(IV) the fourth kind of सङ्कर is ऐकपदसङ्कर. This occurs when in one word (or a compound) two figures stand together. Thus in 673 there are two figures in the compound मेरुकेसर etc., one is अनुप्रास and the other,

रूपक. Of course रूपक pervades throughout the verse, but a part of it is also found in the compound and the सङ्कर is ऐकपद.

A question here arises as to what criterion is there to decide that a particular figure is शब्दालङ्कार and another figure is अर्थालङ्कार, for in every figure, be it अर्थालङ्कार or शब्दालङ्कार, both the sense and the word are present invariably. Both these (sense and word) are indispensable to a sentence. Thus, at the most, we can say that every figure is उभयालङ्कार. To this हेमचन्द्र's answer is as follows:—

Not only in the case of figures but even in the case of दोष (faults in poetry) गुण (excellences in poetry) there is a definite classification of (i) those pertaining to words and (ii) those pertaining to sense; and in all those classifications the only criterion is this:—(i) If by omitting a particular word or words the figure disappears, then that figure is a शब्दालङ्कार.

On the other hand (ii) if by altering the sense of a word the figure disappears, then that figure is a figure of sense, that is अर्थालङ्कार.

And (iii) if for a particular figure a particular word and a particular sense are both indispensable the figure is उभयालङ्कार.

But even in उभयालङ्कार, we can observe as to whether, in that particular instance, the word is important or the sense and decide accordingly.

Thus the criterion to decide whether a particular figure pertains to word or sense is the method of of अन्वयव्यतिरेक i. e. अन्वय (positive concomittance) and व्यतिरेक (negative concomittance).

यत्र यत्र अमुकः शब्द तत्र तत्र अलङ्कारः

यत्र यत्र न अमुकः शब्दः तत्र तत्र नालङ्कारः

Therefore, it is a शब्दालङ्कार.

Similarly in अर्थालङ्कार, we can decide by अन्वयव्यतिरेक.

In the following paragraph हेमचन्द्र gives the reason as to why he summarily dismissed some figures that are admitted and given a place to by other rhetoricians:

Thus (i) the figure परिकर (based on significant adjectives) cannot be admitted as a seperate figure; for it is no merit to use significant adjectives; on the other hand, if one does not use them, his poem will be open to the fault of अपुष्टार्थत्व.

(2) यथासंख्य is not really a figure of speech; for a sentence is expected to observe the rule of respectivity (यथासंख्यता) or proper order. On the other hand if it does not observe this rule, it will be open to the fault of भग्नप्रक्रम.

(3) विनोक्ति has no particular charm of expression and hence should not be admitted as a figure of speech.

(4) भाविक which consists of visualising in present a thing that is past and is expected to happen in future has got a beauty of its own. Yet its charm is felt and enjoyed more in dramatic compositions that can be acted on the stage. In stray verses this figure does not appear to so much advantage as in dramas. Hence it has no place in figures of speech.

(5) The figure उदात्त describing the glorious magnificience of men and things is only a part of the figure of अतिशयोक्ति. Or it can be included under the figure जाति.

If however उदात्त (in its second variety) deals with the wonderful exploits or great deeds of great men, it elevates itself to the level of a रस (sentiment) a subject of ध्वनि and as such cannot be admitted in the figures of speech. If it is said that even then the description of great men is subordinate to the statement

directly expressed in a sentence (वाच्य), the reply (of हेमचन्द्र) is that in that case the ध्वनि will not be a रसध्वनि, the highest kind of ध्वनि. and will climb down to the level of गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्य, but it can never degenerate to the level of a figure of speech which is mere वाच्य.

(6) With the same line of argument it can be decided that a sentiment or feeling even though snbordinated to another sentiment or feeling can never come down to the level of वाच्य (that is, it can not be a figure of speech). Hence the figures रसवत्, प्रेयस् ऊर्जस्वित्, समाहित and the like have to be summarily rejected.

(7) आशीः is no figure of speech really, for it is nothing but saying something that is pleasing. But if this figure suggests some feeling or emotion, it will be elevated to the rank of a गुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्य.

(8) Lastly, the figure प्रत्यनीक (which occurs when a person, unable to retaliate his enemy, tries to wreak vengence on him by molesting a person belonging to the enemy's party) is no seperate figure of speech. But it may be included under the head of गम्योत्प्रेक्षा or प्रतीयमानोत्प्रेक्षा (Indirect conceit).

For instance, in the famous illustration of प्रत्यनीक,

'त्वं विनिर्जितमनोभवरूपः सा च सुन्दर भवत्यनुरक्ता ।
पञ्चभिर्युगपदेव शरैस्तां तापयत्यनुशयादिव कामः ॥'

"The cupid, not tolerating that she is devoted to you who have conquered him with your handsome form, is tormenting her in wrath by means of his sharp arrows etc."

Here add the words 'as it were' after 'not tolerating', and the whole verse would appear to be an instance of हेतूत्प्रेक्षा. (indirect उत्प्रेक्षा, because there is no such word as इव.)

प्रत्यनीक has, therefore, no seperate place in the figures of speech enumerated here.

ADHYAYA VII

The characteristics of a hero and a heroine in a poem are enumerated and defined in the following Sutras.

The whole chapter, as the readers would easily see, is based on the second chapter of दशरूपक. In fact हेमचन्द्र has freely quoted दशरूपक in this chapter.

The etymology of the word नायक is worth-noting नयति व्याप्नोति इतिवृत्तं फलं च इति–the hero is the chief person towards whom all the events in a poem converge and he is the chief person who enjoys the fruit, the consummation of the poem.

The following is a list of सात्त्विक i. e. physical qualities in a hero.

सत्त्वम् is a change of some sort in a body. These qualities, therefore, are born of the change in body. But as in most cases, physical change is due to a mental change, these qualities are both mental and physical. But as the change is seen in the body they are said to be predominantly physical.

शोभा is defined as a change in body from which दाक्ष्य promptitude is easily inferred. For instance in the illustration that follows, the swift stretching and the breaking of Shiva's bow by Rama shows his promptitude.

Verse 674 त्रिपुरान्तकृत् goes with धनुः the bow with which Shiva destroyed the three cities of the demons.

दिविषदां तेजोभिरिद्धम् adj. of धनुः–the bow which was resplendent with the lustre of Gods (दिविषद्).

दोर्दण्डकरस्तस्मिन्नाहितः etc. The moment Rama placed his muscular hand on the bow and stretched it with a twang, it snapped.

Verse 675 रामव्याजेन लोकेषु etc. under the disguise of Rama खर spread i. e. distributed as it were his valour among men.

Verse 676 रंहस्वी possessing swift motion.

आपृच्छय having taken leave of. प्रेष्य a servant.

Verse 677 जुगुप्सा disgust. स्त्रैणम् स्त्रीणांभाव: Womanhood. Rama who stood undaunted by the huge form of ताडका that appeared like an evil omen hesitated in killing her, simply because she was a woman. He hesitated not because he was afraid of her, but because he felt a sort of disgust for her.

Verse 671 क्रीडाकिरात: हर: Shiva who in a sportive mood, disguised himself as a mountaineer.

किरीटिन् Arjuna, the son of Pandu.

The incident referred to, is the fight between Shiva and Arjuna in which the former desired to test the prowess of the latter.

Hearing the story of Shiva and Arjuna (सुभद्रापति) the hero referred to in this verse began to form a graceful pose of his stalwart arms as if he wanted to challenge Arjuna for a fight.

Verse 679 तृणीकृतजगत्त्रयसत्त्वसार as if treating with supreme scorn (तृणीकृत).

Verse 680 रजोभिरन्त:परिवेषबन्धि the sport-lotus inside which there was a circular layer of pollen.

अनुल्बणत्वम् easy and graceful movements.

Verse 681 गण्डोड्डमरपुलकं वक्त्रकमलम् his handsome face the cheeks (गण्ड) in which were bristling with horripitation. While the roar of the army of the demons was being heard, Rama with a perfectly unruffled mind was seeing the reflection of his own face in the cheeks of जानकी and binding tightly the mass of his matted hair.

रघूणां परिवृढ: Lord of the Raghus.

Sutra 8th. अनुपलम्भकृत् not betraying (any feeling). गाम्भीर्य serenity; quality of remaining unperturbed.

Sutra 9 अभ्युपपत्तिः compliance; acceptance.

स्वग्रहणम् etc. extending protection to our own men has no significance here. The word स्व is used here simply to show that the hero is ever ready to protect others as he always protects his own men.

Verse 684 गरुत्मन् Eagle.

Verse 685 ब्रूत येनात्र etc. my own person, my wife and my daughter—even these are at your disposal.

Ask for the service of any of us. As to my external belongings (such as the house etc.) it matters very little. I do not regard them as valuble (अनास्था etc.)

Verse 686: त्यागः सप्तसमुद्र etc. As to your liberality, it has reached the farthest limit of sincerity (निर्व्याज) in giving over the whole earth girt with the seven oceans.

Verse 687 ब्रूत नूतनकूष्मांडफलानाम् etc. who are these persons who resemble the new fruits of कूष्मांड inasmuch as they consider the pointing with fingers as death itself. It is a superstitious belief in India that the कूष्मांडs do not thrive when they are pointed with fingers and counted.

धीरोदात्त, धीरललित, धीरशान्त and धीरोद्धत are four kinds of a hero in general. But when the poem treats of love then the hero is either दक्षिण or धृष्ट or अनुकूल or शठ, in every type of a hero. Each kind of a hero in धीरोदात्त, धीरललित etc. therefore, becomes fourfold and the number of the kinds of a hero, in matters of love, is sixteen.

Each of these kinds is defined below.

धीरोदात्त is गूढगर्व for he conceals his pride by an outwardly modest demeanour.

The type of a धीरोदात्त hero is राम.

धीरललित hero has no worry or anxiety in his life; for he entrusts the administration of his kingdom or other responsibilities to his ministers. वत्सराज is an instance in point.

As a rule the gods, as heroes, are of धीरोदात्त type; kings are of the type of धीरललित; commanders and ministers are of धीरोद्धत type. The Brahmins and merchants are of धीरप्रशान्त type. This rule, is of coure, not rigid. For we see that राम, though a king, is of a धीरोदात्त type. On the other hand माधव in मालती-माधव though the son of a minister, is of धीरललित type. Similarly जीमूतवाहन though a prince, is of the धीरशान्त type. भरत in these karikas lays down only a general rule, there may be a overlapping of types.

Here the commentary has raised an interesting question : can a hero, say of a धीरोदत्त type, become a hero of another type, or is it that these types are unchangeable ? The answer is : when a person is not the hero of a poem or a drama his type can be changed. For instance, in महावीरचरित of भवभूति, परशुराम, a minor character, is first shown as belonging to धीरोद्धत type in his dealings with राम, the hero of the drama. Further on, while he challenges रावण he is of a धीरोदात्त type and finally he is shown also as a धीरशान्त person. So it can be laid down as a rule that in the case of characters other than that of a hero in a poem or a drama these types are changeable. But the type of a hero, in one and the same poem, can never be changed. For instance, in उत्तररामचरित Rama, the hero, is of a धीरोदात्त type and he remains धीरोदात्त throughout the drama. In उदात्तराघव and other dramas, Rama the धीरोदात्त type of hero is shown as killing वालि by a trick,

consequently he is changed into a धीरोद्धत type of a hero. This is not desirable and should be avoided.

But in the case of the four types of heroes as lovers (दक्षिण, धृष्ट, अनुकूल, शठ) the types may change.

For instance, पुरुरवा, the hero in विक्रमोर्वशीय, was an अनुकूल नायक before he fell in love with उर्वशी. After that he becomes दक्षिण, in his attitude towards काशीराजपुत्री. As his love-affair develops, he becomes a शठ and finally when he is detected in his amours with उर्वशी, he becomes धृष्ट. Even the main character of a hero, therefore, may pass from one type of a lover to another.

Verse 688 quoted from दशरूपक gives an illustration of a दक्षिण type of a lover. The former lady-love of a certain lover refuses to believe that he has fallen in love with another lady, for, as she says, he is quite ardent in his love for her (the former lady-love) and there is no change in his attitude towards her.

When the lover is caught while flirting with another lady, he is the धृष्ट type of a lover.

Verse 689 : Here the lover has on his forehead marks of red lac, impressions of bracelets on his neck (which show that he was embraced by another lady) has black collyrium on his lips (which shows that he had kissed the eyes of some lady) has the red colour of a chewed betel leaf (which shows that he was kissed on his eye by his secret lady-love). All these signs betraying his clandestine amours with another lady were sufficient to stun her with the grief of a broken love.

Verse 690 किमस्या न प्रेयो etc. what thing of her (says Rama with reference to Sita) is not lovable, if only seperation from her would have been bearable ?

Everything except her seperation is delightful. Seperation alone is unbearable.

शठ is a kind of lover who secretly loves another lady.

Verse 691 is :

एकत्रासनसंस्थिते प्रियतमे पश्चादुपेत्यादरात् ।
एकस्या नयने निमील्य विहितक्रीडानुबन्धच्छलः ॥
ईषद्वक्रितकंधरः सपुलकः प्रेमोल्लसन्मानसाम् ।
अन्तर्हासलसत्कपोलफलकां धूर्तोऽपरां चुम्बति ॥

विहितक्रीडा etc. who made a pretext that he was in a merry mood.

ईषद्वक्रित etc. turning his face a little he shut the eyes of his former lady-love and kissed his new-lady love whom he loved more. Thus, by indulging as it were, in a love sport he satisfied them both.

Verse 692 The Sanskrit rendering of the verse is:—

कुलबालिकायाः प्रेक्षध्वं यौवनलावण्यविभ्रमविलासाः ।
प्रवसन्तीव प्रवसिते आयान्तीव प्रिये गृहमागते ॥

स्वा नायिका is a married lady. स्वयमूढा who has married the नायक of her own accord. She is so loving and so faithful that all the natural graces of her loveliness and youth is seen at its best when her husband is at home, not otherwise.

मुग्धा is tender in age and inexperienced in love sports.

रतौ वामा she is generally averse to love sports.

Verse 693 : The breasts of the lady were extended up to her arm-pit.

ताण्डवपण्डिते skilled in gracefully dancing.

स्मितसुधासिक्तोक्तिषु while she spoke, her words were, as it were, sprinkled with the nectar of her smile.

चेतःकंदलितं etc. her heart began to respond to the throbs of love.

Verse 694 : The body of that woman did not

know what to do, when her lover came to her: for her thighs stood motionless (owing to the excitement of love), tremor overpowered her body, she could not speak anything, for she was embarassed with bashfulness. In spite of all this, however, her body (though inactive) did declare her love towards her lover (by means of her face beaming with joy). Sincere love does not demand outward formalities.

Verse 695. Third line:—

The graceful movements of her eyes belies her child-like simplicity, that is to say, she was no longer a mere girl as was plainly seen from the newly seen graceful movements of her eyes.

Verse 996: though she was eager for an embrace and for the pulling of her hair by her lover, though her heart was palpitating through the emotion of love, she did not approach her lover of her own accord.

Verse 697: the lady in a full flush of her youth says, while starting to meet her lover:—

These limbs of mine are serious impediments in my way, while I start to meet my lover; the buttocks being heavy do not allow me to walk fast. (उद्गत that is excessively large). My face is beaming like the moon and bringing to light my secret visit etc.

Verse 698: the peculiar sound of the lady at the time of love-sport was heard distinctly and was not drowned even in the continuous tinkling of her girdle and the jingling of her anklets, for the former sound though less powerful was of a different nature and hence could be easily distinguished from the latter.

सोत्प्रास-वक्रोक्त्या etc. In the case of मध्या नायिका the anger towards her lover is expressed by (सोत्प्रासवक्रोक्त्या)

by means of her ironical and equivocal speech, if she is धीरा; by tears and ironical speech, if she is धीराधीरा; by harsh words if she is अधीरा मध्या नायिका.

Verse 699 illustrates the ironical and equivocal speech of the धीरा मध्या नायिका:—

A branch of a flowery tree was being offered by a lover to his lady-love who on her part was very angry with him, as she thought he was in secret love with another lady:—

"I am not fit to receive this present from you.

Give it to her who kisses you in secret (पिबति च पाति च) (offer this branch to her; offer this विटप to her.")

There is a pun on the word विटप: it means a branch as well as a paramour.

Verse 700 runs thus:—

बाले नाथ विमुञ्च मानिनि रुषं रोषान्मया किं कृतम् ।
खेदोऽस्मासु न मेऽपराध्यति भवान्सर्वेऽपराधा मयि ॥
तत्किं रोदिषि गद्गदेन वचसा कस्याग्रतो रुद्यते ।
नन्वेतन्मम का तवाऽस्मि दयिता नास्मीत्यतो रुद्यते ॥

This is a dialogue between a lover and his offended beloved.

नास्मीत्यतो रुद्यते I am not your beloved as a matter of fact; and hence it is that I weep.

Three kinds of प्रौढा नायिका are (as in the case of मध्या) धीरा, धीराऽधीरा and अधीरा.

The धीरा प्रौढा नायिका expresses her anger by her outwardly calm demeanour.

अवहित्था outward formalities (उपचार).

Verse 735: she avoided sitting together with the pretext of offering him a welcome; she avoided his embrace by a show of hastening to offer him betel leaf; she did not converse with him by showing that she was engaged in giving instructions to her servants.

Thus the clever woman gratified her own anger towards her lover, all the time observing all the formalities.

Verse 703: the lover says "Better to be openly repremanded with than to be tortured by this concealed anger of yours etc.

Verse 704: समुद्ग्रन्थयन् loosening.

भ्रूभेदो न कृत: no sign of disapproval was shown by frowning.

Her prompt yielding to the advances of lover betrayed her anger.

Verse 705: वामा हठालिङ्गने obstinately refusing etc.

It was really a novel way of showing anger!

The anti-climax of love between the lovers is beautifully shown in the following verse. The woman says: "first of all, we were one, as it were, in body and soul; then we were darlings of each other; now we are only husband and wife. I am suffering the penalty of long life; it would have been better, if I would have died earlier."

कुलिशकठिन hard as adamant.

Sometimes the अधीरा प्रौढा actually beats her offending lover, as is illustrated in the verse 707. See दशरूपक II for this and the following verse.

अवरुद्धाऽपि परस्त्री: even a 'keep' is called परस्त्री.

Verse 708:

A wanton woman says this to her neighbour. She is going to meet her lover secretly, but makes a pretext of going to fetch water from a stream outside the village. Thorny shrubs covering the stream will scratch her body, as she says, but this is merely her pretext to deceive people in case her paramour in his love-sports would handle her roughly.

Verse 709 उपचितामोगा liter. of increased dimensions, hence expanded.

गणिका a harlot or a courtezan. The fanciful derivation of the word given here is: a woman who attracts (गणयति=कलयति) men by her proficiency in fine arts (कलाप्रागल्भ्य) and by her cunning.

The natural and proper etymology is गणिका a woman common to a गण or a congregation or a mass of people. Anybody can approach her and buy her love.

सामान्य who can be approached by all (by a refined man as well as a fool).

Verse 710: the sexual act described in the verse is technically called पुरुषायित – one in which the woman takes the initiative or an active part.

In the 30th Sutra, the author gives a list of eight states of love in the case of a woman (towards her husband).

All these eight states are possible only in the case of a wife; when a woman is not a wife, but other's woman or merely an unmarried girl, all these states are not possible. Only the last three are possible.

The following is the Sanskrit rendering of the verse 711:—

सालोक एव सूर्ये गृहिणी गृहस्वामिनो गृहीत्वा ।
अनिच्छतश्च चरणौ धुवति हसन्ती हसतः ॥

Even when it was the evening, the woman, who was confident of the love of her husband, and who, therefore, was perfectly free with him, wanted to indulge in love-sports with him.

प्रोषितभर्तृका. प्रोषितः gone to some place away from his dwelling place.

Dear friend ! he (my husband) must have thought

(while starting on a journey) that the grief of seperation felt by a wife was quite a common thing; and that it was certain that she would not die. If it were not so, he would not have gone away at all. Let my life now remain or leave me. The infamy (of being a faithless wife) will stand for ever.

Verse 713 व्यासङ्ग attachment. Says an indignant lady to her husband who had passed the night in the company of another woman: "You can hide from me the impressions of nails on your body, you can hide the nether lip bitten by another lady; but you can not hide the prodigious smell of scents betraying your amours with another lady,"

कलहान्तरिता gets repentant after spurning the advances of her husband.

" I am reduced to such a miserable plight; friends ! Why did you prompt me at all to treat him with disdain ? Was there any advantage in doing so ?"

वासकसज्जा, वासके सज्जा. वासकः a day of appointment when the husband comes to see his beloved (वासयन्ति यत्रस्थाने रात्रिमिति वासकाः) and passes the particular night with her.

These days have been enumerated and the particular occassion of seeing the day have been mentioned by हेमचन्द्र who quotes two Karikas in this reference.

परिपाट्याम् the day on which comes the turn of that particular lady.

फलार्थे on the sixth day after the menses when, with a view to get a child, an intercourse with a woman is sanctioned by the Shastras.

नवे प्रसवे A few days after the delivery.

दुःखे If the woman is in mourning owing to the death of her relatives.

प्रमोदे If she is in an extra jubilant mood.

इच्चिते वासके on all days on which intercourse is allowed.

On all these days the woman with a view to welcome her lover adorns herself in the best possible manner and hence the word वासकसज्जा.

Verse 715: तल्पककल्पनविधेः etc.. After arranging for her bed, she stood waiting for her husband.

First looking in a mirror to assure herself that her toilette is perfectly faultless (अनिन्द्यभूषणा)

प्रियंमन्या one who regards herself as a favourite of her husband. चिरयति when he is late.

Verse 716 नाप्यस्य तादृक् सुहृद्यो मां नेच्छति there is no friend of his who is not well-disposed towards me.

निशान्तान्तरे. निशान्तम् bed-room

वृत्तविवर्तनव्यतिकरा tossing herself now on one side now on another.

संकेतः an appointment of a lover as regards the time and place to meet his lady-love.

Verse 717: After waiting, in vain, at the appointed place, the woman started to go away with tears streaming down her eyes and dropping in a line on the ground. With these tears she, as it were, wrote a series of words to let her arrival known to her lover.

अभिसारिका is of two kinds: The one who, swayed with love, starts to meet her lover and the other who asks her lover to see her.

Verse 718: A big bright necklace of pearls on her breast, a tinkling girdle on her waist, jingling anklets on her feet-in such a fashion, a woman was going to meet her lover when some gallant addresses her thus:—

You silly woman! if you are going to meet your lover thus proclaiming, as it were, publicly your march, why do you frequently cast frightened looks in all directions? If you wanted to conceal your identity, you ought not to have dressed yourself in such a gorgeous manner.

Verse 719: A woman while sending her messenger to her lover says :—

"You should talk to him on my behalf in such a clever manner that he would not deem me to be a low-minded woman and would show compassion towards me."

All the terms used for all these eight kinds mentioned above are significant and hence to define every kind is superfluous–as says हेमचन्द्र: आहृत्य लक्षण न कृतम्.

In the 31st sutra it is said that परस्त्री kind of a heroine can have only three of these eight states mentioned above. These states are विरहोत्कण्ठिता, अभिसारिका and विप्रलब्धा.

We see no reason why परस्त्री or a कन्या नायिका should not have the state of वासकसज्जा. If she can, according to हेमचन्द्र, invite her lover to her house by previous appointment, why should she not deck her person in a charming manner and thus be a वासकसज्जा. To take the word वासकसज्जा in the sense of a woman who, decks herself properly and waits for her 'husband' is to interprete the word in a needlessly limited sense.

The graces of women are next defined. These graces spring from the peculiarly happy movements (चेष्टा) of the body (of women). They do not belong to the mind; at any rate, here the physical graces (of movements) are meant.

राजसतामसशरीरेष्वसंभवात् here the author seems to have made a confusion of meaning as regards the word सत्त्व. He himself interprets the word सत्व as "belonging to the body" and not in its usual sense of the quality of सत्व. The remark राजसतामसशरीरेषु etc. is, therefore, out of place. He almost means to say that these graces of the movements of the body are found only in superior kinds of women and, therefore, queerly remarks that these graces are not found in the persons of Chandal women! But he does not seem to be satisfied with his own explaination, for he further remarks that if these graces are at all found in Chandal women, they speak of their belonging to a superior type!

These graces are found in men also; why then restrict these graces to women alone? The answer of the author is that these, and no other, are such as heighten the charms of women, while in the case of men, not the grace of movement but a face beaming with enthusiasm is his best ornament. It is because of this that the word धीर is applied commonly to all kinds of heroes.

These अलंकारs or graces are of two kind: अलंकारs of the first kind are called अङ्गजs, that is to say, they are found in the body almost as a matter of instinct formed, in its turn, by the feeling of love familiar in the previous life of a woman. अलंकारs of the second kind come into existence in this life of a woman, when the latent feeling of love in her heart is clearly manifested in this life on account of stimulations received. These latter kinds of अलंकारs, therefore, vary in number with every individual woman. But the first kind of graces are found uniformly in all women with only a difference of degree in quality.

Both these kinds of graces अङ्गज and स्वाभाविक are again subdivided into क्रियात्मानः and गुणात्मानः. क्रियात्मानः are the graces which spring from the deliberate movements of the body, while गुणात्मानः are the graces (such as शोभा and others) that do not depend on the deliberate movements of the body, but are spontaneous.

पदार्थविदः psychologists.

भाव, हाव and हेला come under the category of अङ्गज graces, though, as is explained by भरत in his कारिकाs, हेला springs from हाव and हाव, in its turn, proceeds from भाव, भाव springs directly from सत्त्व (body) and hence all these are said to be born of सत्त्व i. e. अङ्गज.

It is to be noted here that the relation of cause and effect as regards these three graces भाव, हाव and हेला, as is given by भरत in his Karika, is not always true, for sometimes it so happens that हाव is produced in some young girl, not from her own भाव but by हेला seen by that girl in another full-grown girl. Sometimes भाव seen in others produces हाव or हेला.

Again, sometimes, हेला is produced by seeing हेला in others. Sometimes, हाव is born of भाव seen in others. Sometimes, merely by hearing the भाव in others, हेला and others are produced.

Thus there is a mutual relation of cause and effect among these अङ्गज graces : भाव, हाव and हेला.

भाव is defined as that graceful and subtle change in the body which betrays the inward instinct of love.

Verse 720: a girl just on the threshold of her youth is described in this verse.

2nd line: she directs her ears to the talk of her friends when they discuss love – matters among them. She does not now freely sit on the lap of men as she did before.

नूतनयौवन etc. : she is coming under the sway of the prime of youth.

When there is greater change in the body than that found in भाव, it is called हाव. The derivation of the word being from the root हु (हावयतीति हावः).

When the girl is on the point of offering her heart in love to somebody, there is a clear change in her body especially in places such as the eye-brows, eyes, chin, neck and others. Thus हाव prompts her to offer herself (हु to offer in sacrifice) to her future lover, but she is blissfully ignorant of these unconsious but sure workings of love in her. The manifest change in her is wrought by the instinct of love in her.

Verse 721 परिस्पन्दो वाचाम् etc. her words have become charming on account of a new grace in them. गतीनां etc. her gait has in it a peculiar grace budding forth afresh (किसलयित).

When, however, the change in her is great and absolutely clear and when she is perfectly conscious of the awakening of the feeling of love in her, it is the state of हेला; of course, she has not yet found any youth who can be the object of her love.

The word हेला is derived from the root हेल् (हेल् to go speedily; to flow continuously). हेला, therefore, is a change that is not intermittent like भाव, but is continuous and permanent.

Verse 722. The verse runs thus :—

कुरङ्गीवाङ्गानि स्तिमितयति गीतध्वनिषु यत् ।
सखीं कान्तोदन्तं श्रुतमपि पुनः प्रश्नयति यत् ॥
अनिद्रं यच्चान्तः स्वपिति तदहो वेद्म्यभिनवाम् ।
प्रवृत्तोऽस्याः सेक्तुं हृदि मनसिजः प्रेमलतिकाम् ॥

As this young girl sits motionless as a female deer, when she hears notes of music; as she repeatedly

asks questions regarding the news of her husband (or lover), as she seems to fall in a reverie (अनिद्र मन्तः स्वपिति), it seems that the god of love has begun to sprinkle the tender creeper of love newly sprouting in her heart.

The verse presents a difficulty as regards the second line: it is stated there that the young girl is repeatedly asking questions about her lover. This shows that she has found the object of her love. But this statement goes against the characteristics of हेला, for even in हेला the heroine is said to have found no lover. In fact हेमचन्द्र in the following lines emphatically says. "अत्र ह्यन्तर्गतरतिप्रबोधमात्रमुक्तम्."

In हेला mere awakening of the inherent feeling of love is meant, not the actual falling in love on the part of the heroine. This state of हेला serves as a foundation (पीठबन्ध) on which her affairs of love in future are to stand.

In the words ब्राम्हणस्योपनयनम् the ceremony of wearing the sacred thread is to be performed for a Brahmin. But the fact is that unless a boy undergoes this religious rite, he can not be called a Brahmin at all. But it is with a view to his becoming a Brahmin in future that the words ब्राम्हणस्योपनयनम् are used. Similarly, here in the case of the heroine, हेला is a state of love in which she is swayed by the feelings of love no doubt, but that love of her has no object for it yet. Really speaking, therefore, the word love has no much significance here, unless it has in view the love that the girl would cherish in future for her actual lover.

From the sutra 35, the ten natural graces, लीला and others, of women are described.

When the love of a woman has found its object at last, these changes in body appear as a result of the developed state of that love. These graceful changes take place, generally when the woman has already experienced the pleasures of physical love, but sometimes they appear even before that.

शोभा and others, on the other hand, appear only after the woman has tasted the pleasures of physical love.

लीला, the imitation of the speech, dress and movements of the lover by his beloved, is the result of her great love and admiration for her lover; it never means mimicing with a view to ridicule him.

The Sanskrit rendering of the verse 723 is as follows:—

यद्यत्त्वं करोषि यद्यज्जल्पसि यथा त्वं नियमयसि ।
तत्तदनुशिक्षन्त्या दिवसो दिवसो न संपतति ॥

In imitating your speech and movements the days are too short for her.

स्थानादीनां वैशिष्ट्यं विलासः

The peculiarly charming pose of the limbs is called विलास.

The word आदि in स्थानादीनां includes the happy pose in walking and sitting as also of the hands and eyes.

Verse 724: माधव describes the graceful movements of the young women whom he saw in the temple of the god of love.

There were manifested to my sight the victorious workings of love (in that fair-eyed one) that were extremely charming owing to the great changes in the body, the variety in which transcended the power of description in words, and that were replete with various graces.

विच्छित्ति lends a charm to the body even when a woman, proud of her beauty, puts on only a few ornaments and has a simple toilet.

The Sanskrit rendering of the verse is as follows:

शिखिपिच्छकर्णपूरा जाया व्याधस्य गर्विता भवति ।
मुक्ताफलरचितप्रसाधनानां मध्ये सपत्नीनाम् ॥

Even when other wives of the hunter had decked their persons with big pearls, this particular wife (whom the hunter loved most) strutted about with pride with only a peacock's feather for her ear-ring.

The feather was given to her with great love by her husband, the hunter; naturally, therefore, she was proud of her enviable lot.

बिब्बोक is a sort of indifference even towards things that are dear to a woman. This indifference is the result of her pride as regards her beauty and other things.

Verse 726: Parvati, without any apparent reason, began to converse with her friend standing near and thus she showed her indifference to the words of Shankar.

निर्विमुज्य pouting (her lips).

विभ्रम is putting ornaments at wrong places; it occurs even when the woman does not use the right word at the right place or does not use the right limb for the right purpose.

Verse 727 A woman wore her girdle on her breasts and wore necklace on her hips !

विभ्रम is usually the result of the excitement or flurry due to the woman's excessive love for her lover.

According to हेमचन्द्र, however, it is due to the pride of beauty. But दशरूपक and साहित्यदर्पण explicitly say that विभ्रम is the result of the woman's flurry on account

of the unexpected arrival of her lover or on account of the transports of joy and love.

किलकिंचित is the sweet combination of different feelings such as joy, fear, sorrow, anger. This, according to हेमचन्द्र, is the result of the woman's pride of her beauty.

But साहित्यदर्पण attributes किलकिंचित to the sudden joy that a woman feels at the unexpected arrival of her lover.

Verse 728: During the love–sports when the lover tried successfully to kiss a woman, she presented a charming harmony of embarassment, smile and suppressed cry of anger.

The word मोट्टायित is explained by हेमचन्द्र thus:—

मदनाङ्गपर्यन्ताङ्गमोट्टनात् (from the root मोट् to break or to stretch).

The word मदनाङ्ग is an obvious misprint. It ought to be वदनाङ्ग; the words पर्यन्ताङ्ग may be dropped; and the words should be वदनाङ्गमोट्टनात्. The word मोट्टायित comes from the root मोट् which means breaking or cracking of the joints of fingers or yawning of the mouth. When a woman is completely engrossed in gazing at her lover or in hearing his story, these movements–yawning and cracking of joints–follow naturally.

Verse 729 स्मरदवथु दवथु. torments.

Her female friends wanted to find out as to who was the object of her love. So they began to talk about you. At once she became engrossed in the talk and crossing her arms began to yawn and stretch her back and others limbs.

कुट्टमित is showing a sensation of pain even when the woman feels joy inwardly by the rough handling by her lover.

Verse 730 describes the outward pain but the inward joy which the woman feels during love-sports. हेमचन्द्र, however, defines कुट्टमित as the showing of outward joy when inwardly there is pain.

ललित is the graceful and delicate movements of the limbs.

Verse 731, 4th line:—She was, as it were, made to dance (without the accompaniment of music) by her budding youth. Every movement of her limbs appeared as if it were a particular pose in dancing—it was so lovely.

ललित, as हेमचन्द्र explains, is the aimless or unconsciously beautiful movements of the limbs.

When, however, there is a purposeful movement of the limbs and it appears graceful, then it is विलास. This, according to हेमचन्द्र, is the difference between ललित and विलास.

Others, however, think that विलास gathering strength culminates in ललित. लड्, to have grace, is the root common both to ललित and विलास and hence the explaination seems to be the right one.

विहृतम् is assuming silence even when there is an occasion of speaking.

व्याज is pretext. When the woman keeps silent owing to her bashfulness or simple-mindedness or even sometimes owing to her dissimulation, there is विहृत.

व्याज, deliberate pretext, is not admitted as the cause of विहृत by any author except हेमचन्द्र. All the instances of विहृत cited by the rhetoricians militate against the word व्याज of हेमचन्द्र.

Verse 732: Even this verse attributes विहृत to the bashfulnesss of Parvati.

The friend of Parvati while dyeing or painting her foot asks her in jest to touch with it the crescent moon on the head of Shiva. Parvati, thereupon, silently struck her friend with a garland as the penalty for her mischievous joke.

Others interpret विहृत as the sportive movements of a woman both in her maidenhood and in her youth, when she is in love with somebody. Thus the verse मन्दाकिनीसैकत etc. from कुमारसंभव describing the sports of पार्वती in her childhood, as well as the verse व्यपोहितुं etc. from किरात describing the clever movements of a full-grown woman, is an instance of विहृत.

Verse 733 कृत्रिमपुत्रकैः dolls.

सैकतवेदिकाभिः by making heaps or mounds of sand.

निर्विशती enjoying.

Verse 734 किल shows pretext. The lover was trying to take out the pollen from the eye of his beloved by blowing the wind from his mouth. The lover showed his inability to take out the pollen, but it was a mere pretext and the woman struck her lover with her breasts apparently pushing them with pain, but, as a matter of fact quite deliberately.

पुंभोगोपबृंहित enhanced on account of their being enjoyed by men.

अङ्गच्छाया the beauty of limbs.

Verse 735 विमार्गति searches.

समाकुला embarassed. स्थगयति shuts, closes.

शोभा कान्ति and दीप्ति are three aspects of beauty in an ascending order.

Verse 736 describes the lovely languidity of the limbs of the Goddess लक्ष्मी during her love-sports with Vishnu on the bed of the Lord of Serpents.

Verse 737 gives a very faithful description of the face of a woman who had taken the initiative and an active part in her love – sports.

माधुर्यम् is the delicacy of the movements of women which is visible not only in their bashfulness but also in their anger and other harsh feelings.

Verse 738 describes the delicacy of the movements of a woman even when inwardly she was full of anger towards her lover.

अभ्युद्गमविधिः offering greetings.

शिरस्याज्ञा etc. obeyed every order.

न दृष्टेः शैथिल्यम् etc. but there is no loving softness in the gaze.

संवृतिः dissimulation, pretext.

Verse 739 describes the dignified resignation of मालती to the acute pangs of unfulfilled love. She says: " Let the moon blaze forth in the sky every night with all her digits. Let the cupid burn. I shall never do anything that will bring stigma on the fair name of my parents. My life or my lover is not as dear to me as the fair name of my family.

औदार्य is a sweet humility even in anger and such other harsh feelings.

Verse 740 : Though there was frown on her face she hung it. She laughed significantly at me, but did not utter a single harsh word. She stared at me with her eyes brimming with tears. She did not gaze at me with a look of command. Thus she showed her anger towards me but did not give up humility. Boldness in love–sports and other things is प्रागल्भ्य.

Verse 741 : Peaceful nature is an ornament of man, no doubt, but on other occassions, as bashfulness

is a grace of women but on other occassions; but when insulted a man must show his spirit and a woman at the time of love-sports must show boldness.

Drooping of limbs (अङ्गसाद) owing to the excitement of mind is साध्वस; and प्रागल्भ्य is opposite of this as is illustrated in the verse 742. The whole verse runs thus:—

आशु लङ्घितवतीष्टकराग्रे ।
नीविमर्धमुकुलीकृतदृष्टया ॥
रक्तवैणिकहताधरतन्त्री ।
मण्डलक्वणितचारु चुकूजे ॥

When the hand of her lover reached as far as the knot of her lower garment, a woman with her half-closed eyes (through intense joy) made a sound as sweet as the sound of the lower strings of a lute.

These graces belong to the body not to the mind. They are found only when there is an absence of rashness, anger and other kindred feelings. Even माधुर्य and others are not mental qualities. They, therefore, can not be included under भावs.

शाक्याचार्य राहुल and others add to the list of these graces some other graces such as मौग्ध्य simplicity, मदभाविकत्व intoxication, परितपन fretting and snch other things. But हेमचन्द्र who calls himself a follower of भरत does not admit these graces as they smack of mental qualities.

ADHYAYA VIII .

The eighth chapter is devoted to the description of the various kinds of poetry in which drama occupies a very important place. The division of poems is based on the poems being either प्रेक्ष्य i. e. that which can be witnessed and श्राव्य that which can be heard while read by oneself. Under प्रेक्ष्य come all the varieties of a drama while श्रव्य poems include every variety of a poem that can only be read but not staged.

In the following quotation from भट्टतौत the etymology of the word कवि is given. कवि is both a seer and a narrator. A historian is a seer no doubt, but he is not a narrator or a story-teller; he is simply a chronicler; he, therefore, is not a कवि. Similarly, a work on history is not a poem. कवि is first regarded as a synonym of ऋषि which means a seer; कवि is a seer, inasmuchas he, with his divine vision, fathoms the very secrets and the peculiar characteristics of all kinds of things (भाव). Because he sees the essence of things, he is called a poet. But that is not all. The poet is also a master of narration. He describes things with supreme skill and absorbing interest. These two qualities, therefore, constitute the characteristics of a poet. वाल्मीकि, the first poet, was both an acute observer and a master-hand in description. He, therefore, deserved the title of a poet. The division of प्रेक्ष्य is further sub-divided into पाठ्य and गेय.

In the third sutra, हेमचन्द्र enmerates almost all the well-known varieties of the पाठ्य kind of poems such as नाटक, प्रकरण and others. Even सट्टक kind of a drama such as कर्पूरमञ्जरी of राजशेखर is included in the list obviously

because all the tests of the पाठ्य kind of a poem are applicable to it as well.

In the following कारिका, all the varieties of a पाठ्य poem are defined.

In नाटक the plot must be well-known. The hero must be a celebrated person of a noble character.

Sage-like kings may figure as heroes in the नाटक.

Association with heavenly beings is permissible in नाटक. Acts and scenes (प्रवेशक) are an indispensable feature of a नाटक.

A प्रकरण differs from a नाटक in that in the former the plot is not adopted from any celebrated historical event, but is purely imaginary or conceived by the poet (औत्पत्तिक).

It is not a rigid rule, however, that in प्रकरण the plot must be throughly an independent and a new one. The only thing that is most essential is that the plot must not be wholly historical; at least the main plot must be either purely imaginary or taken from works of pure fiction such as कथासरित्सागर and others. Sometimes, however in a प्रकरण the plot is taken and enlarged or developed from the works of ancient poets. At any rate the plot in a प्रकरण must not be taken from any पुराण.

In almost all other respects a प्रकरण resembles a नाटक.

As a rule, the lives of Brahmins, merchants, ministers, and priests are painted in a प्रकरण. नोदात्तनायककृतम् etc. in a प्रकरण the hero, of course, must be not a king of a heavenly being. The paraphernalia of a king or his luxurious life must not be delineated in a प्रकरण (न राजसंभोगः) बाह्यजनसंप्रयुक्तम्: a प्रकरण should have characters of low persons or servants other than the servants in a royal harem.

Career of the love of a courtezan is also a feature of a प्रकरण. In fact, the career of a lady of a respectable family is not given prominence to in a प्रकरण. For instance, in मृच्छकटिक, the chief female character is वसन्तसेना, a courtezan; in this drama, moreover, the character of धूता, the wife of चारुदत्त, plays only a minor part.

The verse प्रकरणनाटकभेदात् etc. and the two subsequent verses, as quoted from भरत नाट्यशास्त्र, mention the main characteristics of a नाटिका:—

नाटिका is a subdivision either of a प्रकरण or of a नाटक. In fact in respect of plot, it resembles either a प्रकरण or a नाटक. The heroine usually should be one of the young women in the harem of a king. It should have greater number of female characters than that of male characters. Usually it has four acts. Dancing and delicate acting should be the main feature of a नाटिका. It should also be furnished with plenty of music The theme should be of love-union. Court intrigues as regards secret love-making is a prominent peculiarity of a नाटिका.

In the following verses समवकार is defined.

देवासुरबीजकृतः etc. समवकार is characterized by the efforts of gods and demons to achieve a certain end.

प्रख्यातोदात्त०:—The hero in समवकार must be a person with a noble character and one who is a renowed personality.

It has a peculiarity of having only three acts. The intrigues as shown in समवकार are also of three kinds: the first is one in which a person who is absolutely innocent is deceived; in the second, both the deceiver and the deceived are offenders. In the third case, both the deceiver and the deceived are the victims of mysterious chance.

त्रिविद्रवः The calamitous occurences shown are also of three kinds: in the first case, the calamity is brought on by some human agency; in the second, it is the work of some non-sentient thing; and in the third, it is brought on partly by human agency and partly by a non-sentient thing.

त्रिशृङ्गारः the kind of love as depicted in समवकार is also threefold. In the first case it has for its object धर्म spiritual welfare, in the second अर्थ temporal prosperity and in the third, काम pleasures of life.

अष्टादशनालिकप्रमाणः The duration of a समवकार should be eighteen नालिकाs approximately.

The following verses (124, 125, 126) define ईहामृग, another variety of a drama. The name ईहामृग is significant. It is a kind of a drama in which effort is shown (ईहा) as being made like the deer (मृग) for the possession of a woman.

In समवकार there is marked looseness of plot, but in ईहामृग the plot is skilfully arranged (सुविहितवस्तुनिबद्धः). The male characters therein are divine beings; and they all fight for the possession of a celestial damsel.

विप्रत्ययकारणः There is a good deal of intigue in ईहामृग (just as in समवकार).

ईहामृग is full of ferocious persons; it depicts fight for women (स्त्रीरोष), it is full of commotion and sudden calamities; it also shows keen rivalry (संफेट) among brave and learned men. Seduction and abduction of women (स्त्रीभेदनापहरण) and consequent revenge are the peculiar features of the love depicted in ईहामृग. Almost all the technical points in a नाटक such वीथि and others are also present in ईहामृग.

In व्यायोग there is only one act (कार्यम्).

In almost all other respects such as the hero, sentiment, the style etc. व्यायोग resembles ईहामृग. Scramble for women is, however, a peculiar feature of ईहामृग which distinguishes it from व्यायोग.

In डिम the plot is well-known. The hero also is a celebrated person. Out of the eight रसs श्रृङ्गार and हास्य (sentiment of love and laughter) are absent in डिम. It has, therefore, only six रसs. The poetry in डिम is full of वीर, रौद्र and other fiery sentiments. Sudden collision (निर्घात) falling of meteors (उल्कापात) eclipses (उपराग) duels (नियुद्ध) defeat (आधर्षण) competition (संफेट) are commonly shown in डिम.

डिम is also full of witch-craft, illusions and strange forms of leather, wood and cloth (पुस्त). डिम bristles with gods, demons and other demi-gods (such as यक्ष and पिशाच)

डिम has nearly sixteen chief male characters. The styles used there are सात्वती and आरभटी. The word डिम is akin to the word डिम्ब which means a "panic". The word is, therefore, significant and shows the nature of plot. व्यायोग has already been referred to above, but only incidentally. In the following three verses it is clearly defined. The hero in व्यायोग is a well-known person as in डिम but he is neither a divine being nor a उदात्त kind of hero. A minister, a commander of an army may, therefore, figure as heroes in a व्यायोग. There are very few female characters in व्यायोग. The duration of the plot in व्यायोग is only one day. As in समवकार there are several male characters engaged in fight, attacks and rivalry, but not on the same scale as in समवकार.

The following verses define उत्सृष्टिकाङ्क.

In this the plot is generally well-known, but sometimes it is also imaginary. No divine beings figure in this kind of drama. Pathos (करुण) is the chief sentiment here. Fighting and striking are conspicuously absent from उत्सृष्टिकाङ्क. It is full of lamentations of women (स्त्रीपरिदेवितबहुलः) and the speeches, therein, are full of despair. The characters therein often roll on the ground and cry. The modes सात्वती, आरभटी and कौशिकी are not found in this kind.

प्रहसन is of two kinds, शुद्ध (pure) and संकीर्ण (of a mixed character).

In the first kind, ascetics, house-holders and brahmins indulge in speech exciting laughter. Even low characters are found in this kind of प्रहसन. There is an atmosphere of merriment and joking in प्रहसन, but all the same the language is never foul or indecent in this kind of प्रहसन. The plot is consistent and continuous with a mixture of incidents full of various feelings (विशेषभावोपपन्नचरितम्).

The second kind of प्रहसन is full of the characters of prostitutes, menials, eunuchs, dissolute persons wanton women (बन्धकी) and rogues. They act in an openly (अनिभृत) indecent way, talk and dress in a quaint manner and thus create grotesque humour.

In भाण there is only one character (and that too generally a male character) which narrates the incidents of its own life as well as the lives of others. एकहार्यः भाणः it is staged (हार्यः) only by one person.

The narration of the incidents of the lives of others is attended with the imitation of the speech and action of those persons (परिवचन). The device of आकाशभाषित is resorted to in order to give the भाण an

appearance of a drama of conversations or dialogues. The characters in भाण are generally those of rogues and profigate persons. Quite a rich variety of incidents is shown in भाण (नानावस्थान्तरात्मकः).

वीथी is a device used either as an introductory part of a drama or as a supplement to it. It has thirteen sub-divisions. It is full of all the sentiments. It extends over one act. It has one or two characters.

सट्टक is the last variety of a drama and is defined in the verse विष्कम्भक etc.

In सट्टक there is neither विष्कम्भक nor प्रवेशक.

The language of the whole drama is one throught-out. It is written either in Sanskrit or in प्राकृत (generally in प्राकृत).

Other varieties of a drama, such as तोटक and others, are mentioned by कोहल and other writers on dramaturgy, but हेमचन्द्र merely alludes to them in the next Sutra to enumerate the subdivisions of a गेय kind of composition and briefly defines them.

The notable difference between a गेयकाव्य and the रूपकs defined above is that the former has no consistent plot in it, but deals with fragmentary sentences that are to be sung with the accompaniment of gestures, while all the varieties of a drama have a consistent plot which has to be enacted on the stage. Prominence of music is also another feature of गेय compositions. Movement of all the limbs is also a prominent characteristic of a गेय composition.

गेय compositions are three-fold (1) Soft (मसृण) (2) terrific or wild (उद्धत) and (3) of a mixed character.

The first kind of गेयकाव्य is डोम्बिका. It contains songs which describe secret love-affairs.

In भाण, the second kind of गेयकाव्य, the dancing girl or the musician describes the terrific incidents in the lives of वराह, नृसिंह and such other incarnations of God.

The following kind is प्रस्थान. In it the singer or the dancing girl disguises herself as one of the animals such as an elephant, a lion etc. and imitates their mode of walking.

In शिङ्गक the actor or actress plays the part of a heroine who, in the presence ot her female friends, imitates the wild career of her lover.

The career of a धूर्त (a rogue in love-matters.) may also be described in शिङ्गक.

In भाणिका we find the frolics of a child and the imitation of the fights of hogs, lions and others.

धवलादिकृता gambols of cows and other animals.

प्रेरण is accompanied by प्रहेलिका (dialogues solving riddles) and is full of humour.

रामाक्रीड describes the seasons.

हल्लीसक contains circular dances. The dances are led by one man who stands in the midst of ladies just as Lord Krishna led the dances of cowherd women. The dances are conducted by a host of ladies and are performed with the accompaniment of music and timing. A man and a woman form one pair in it. At a time, sixty four pairs can take part in हल्लीसक.

In गोष्ठी the incidents of Lord Krishna in his childhood (such as the killing of the demons रिष्ट and and others) are shown.

In श्रीगदित, high-class ladies sing and praise the merits of their husbands, or sometimes they remonstrate with their husbands

In short, these kinds of गेय composition are always full of music and dancing and deal with all the chief sentiments.

Other varieties of a गेयकाव्य are शम्पा, छलित, द्विपदा and others, but they are neither enumerated nor defined here by our author. For a detailed study, he only refers his readers to the works of भ्रम्ह, भरत, कोहल and other famous authors on rhetorics.

Under श्रव्यकाव्य come all the varieties of poetic compositions as distinguished from the dramatic compositions.

महाकाव्य, the most important of all the श्रव्य compositions, is next defined.

It is noteworthy that हेमचन्द्र does not limit the महाकाव्य to Sanskrit language only, but extends their domain not only to the Prakrit language with all its dialects, but also to the ग्राम्यभाषा folk-languages or dialects. Another notable feature of his definition of of a महाकाव्य is his mention of the five sandhis as an indispensable factor of a महाकाव्य. Generally, the five Sandhis (mentioned and described below) are considered by all other authors as necessary only for a drama. In all other respects (such as the division of a poem into सर्गs; the last verse of every सर्ग to be written in a metre different from the rest of the verses in the सर्ग) this definition of a महाकाव्य perfectly agrees with all other definitions of a महाकाव्य. The synonyms of a सर्ग are आश्वास, संधि, अवस्कन्ध, कमन्ध.

The five संधिs are mentioned and defined below:—

In मुखसंधि the poet begins the story in a broad but definite manner. For instance, in the verse निर्वाणवैरदहनाः of वेणीसंहार (a drama by भट्टनारायण) the poet broadly

but definitely suggests that his story deals with the prosperity of the पाण्डवs as well as the destruction of the कौरवs. This starting point of a story is technically called बीज and it is consistently developed throughout the drama and ultimately it is transformed into a fruit (that is, its consummation) at the end of a drama. बीज is, therefore, only a nascent state of the fruit itself.

प्रतिमुख, the second संधि, helps to develop the बीज, but in a manner which appears as if it is a state of development at one time and disappearance at another, but really all along its devolopment is going on.

For instance, in रत्नावली in the verse द्वीपादन्यस्मादपि "fate brings about the union of two things" is a बीज, for it suggests that in that drama, रत्नावली and the king will be united. This बीज becomes finally the consummation of the drama, (i. e. it is the फल of the drama). Now in that drama when सागरिका is shown engaged in the worship of the god of love, the बीज mentioned above seems to disappear, but really it is furthered or developed in that the movements of सागरिका do facilitate her union with the king.

In the third sandhi गर्भसंधि, the play of प्राप्ति and अप्राप्ति (i. e. the securing of and the failing of the fruit) continues, but the possibility of obtaining the fruit is more than that of its failure. In this respect, therefore, it differs from the अवमर्श or विमर्शसंधि the fourth संधि. In विमर्शसंधि the possibillty of the failure of the fruit seems to be more than that of its securing. To all appearances, in विमर्श all hope of the fruit is lost either on account of the wrath of the opponent (for instance, in रत्नावली on account of the anger or on account of selfishness of the rival).

गर्भनिर्भिन्नबीजार्थः गर्भान्निर्भिन्नम् इति गर्भनिर्भिन्नम् (बीजम्) बीज coming out of गर्भ i. e. the seed when likely to fructify.

अर्थः its return to the former place.

गर्भनिर्भिन्नबीजस्य अर्थः यस्मिन्सः where the seed loses its progress and seems to return to its original state.

In tho last निर्वहण संधि, all the different currents of the story converge into one main current which ends in the final consummation.

Thus in every महाकाव्य there must be these five संधिs in order to show the systematic beginning, development and the end of the story.

In a महाकाव्य the poet must present quite a wealth of variety as regards the manner of composition. For instance:—

(1) The poem should not be too (असंक्षिप्तग्रन्थत्वम्) short.

(2) Its style should not be uneven; it should present a harmony among all its parts.

(3) It should not be tediously lengthy. The सर्गs should never be unconnected or loose. The logical chain of the story should not be lost.

(4) The beginning of the story should be made either with a blessing given to the readers (as in the first verse of हरविलास quoted in the commentary) or with the direct mention of the story itself (as in the first verse 'आसीद्दैत्यो हयग्रीवः' of the poem हयग्रीववध) or with a salutation to one's favourite God (as in वागर्थाविवसंपृक्तौ, the first verse of रघुवंश).

Besides this, in the introductory part of the poem, mention should be made of the aim of the story or the object of the poet in writing the poem. (See the introductory verses from सेतुबन्धमहाकाव्य as quoted in the commentary).

Sometimes, in the introductory portion of the poem we find the eulogy of the poet himself, as for instance, in the verse " सयलं चेव निबन्धं " of रावणविजय the poet bestows compliment upon himself.

Sometimes, we find remarks passed on the characteristics of the good and the wicked men as in the verse "इतस्ततो भषन्भूरि" of हरविलास, the good are compared to swans and the wicked are compared to dogs.

In a poem, sometimes, we find चित्रबन्ध–picturesque composition such as rhymed verses, verses full of puns, verses composed with only one consonant (for instance, the verses in शिशुपालवध) verses which assume the form of different figures such as drums, swords, etc. (for instance the verses in किरातार्जुनीय).

Sometimes, the poet seems to favour some particular quality in preference to others, as for instance, अनुराग is the predominant quality that the poet प्रवरसेन desires to describe in his poem.

Sometimes, the poets mention their own names in their poems; for instance, the poet राजशेखर makes a mention of his own name in his poem हरविलास. Some favourite word of the poet seems often introduced in the poem (usually in the last verse of every chapter). In किरातार्जुनीय the word लक्ष्मी is found in the last verse of every chapter, as also the word श्री in the poem of माघ.

Auspicious words such as अभ्युदय, आनन्द and others are also found in the introductory verses of a poem. For instance in, उषाहरण the word आनन्द is found in the introductory verse.

In the poem the poet should keep one of the four goals धर्म, अर्थ, काम and मोक्ष as the goal to which he aspires. He regards his poem as a means to secure that goal.

The hero in the poem should be a man of lofty character.

विधिनिषेधव्युत्पादकत्वम् The poem should indirectly suggest as to what is worth practising and what ought to be avoided (निषेध); the story should be consistent and homogeneous.

A list of the things which should be described in the poem is given below. This list mostly agrees with all such lists given in other books on Rhetorics, for instance, in the first chapter of काव्यादर्श, दण्डी gives a similar list.

Below we find some useful hints given by हेमचन्द्र as regards the composition of a poem. For instance, in a poem, the style must agree with the subject-matter of the poem (रसानुरूपसंदर्भत्वम्), If the poet, for instance, describes love, the style must be कोमल, full of soft words. If वीररस is to be delineated, then the style must be कठोर, full of harsh words.

समस्तलोकरञ्जकत्वम् is a very clever hint. The poem should be composed in such a manner that it would win the hearts of very sort of readers. Desire of fame is one of the legitimate aspirations of a poet. देशकालपात्रचेष्टाकथान्तरानुषञ्जनम् the sense of propriety as regards the place, the time, the movements, the characters in the story must be observed. Sometimes, incidentally (कथान्तरानुषञ्जनम्) the poet should introduce minor stories as in कुमारसंभव the story of Cupid's curse. मार्गद्वयानुवर्तनम्, following the two paths. The two paths obviously are those referred to by Dandin in his काव्यादर्श quoted by the commentary.

In a poem the best way is to describe the hero as possessing excellent qualities and as utterly defeating his enemies.

(2) Another way is to describe the noble descent, valour, learning and other excellent merits of the enemy and then to describe the hero as conquering his formidable enemy–thus establishing the undisputed superiority of the hero.

The first method is followed in the poems such as रघुवंश and others. The second method is adopted by the authors of किरातार्जुनीय and शिशुपालवध.

Here an interesting point has been discussed by the commentary: in the definition of a महाकाव्य it is said that in a महाकाव्य there should be a description of a city, ocean, seasons, sunrise etc. Now the question arises as to whether the description of all the things enumerated in the definition is obligatory or is perfectly optional i. e. depending on the volition of the poet. If it is obligatory, then in किरात, शिशुपालवध and other poems the description is not exhaustive. For instance, in किरातार्जुनीय there is no description of a city. On the other hand, if it is optional, then any poem that does not contain any description of the things mentioned here, will have also to be included in the list of महाकाव्यs. Is then the description of these things, the criterion of a महाकाव्य ?

The answer to this is very clearly given in the commentary: 'Yes,' says the commentator, 'the description of all these things is an essential feature of a महाकाव्य; but the number of things to be described depends upon the nature of the plot of the poem. If the story of the poem is a very comprehensive one, then it admits within its pale the description of all the things enumerated in the definition, but if it is a short story, then some things only should be described.

But even here, those things that play an important part in the development of the story must be described. For instance, if the story has some political event as its subject-matter, then मन्त्रदूतप्रयाणादिनायकाभ्युदयादय: (काव्यादर्श परि. १/१७) secret plans, the sending of envoys and other essential things must be described. If, on the other hand, the story contains a love-affair, then the description of seasons, sun-rise, moon-rise, water sports and others is quite necessary. Even supposing that the love-story is a short one, the poet should make it a point to bring in the description of seasons moon-rise and other pertinent things even by making a digression.'

Generally the Sanskrit word used for the chapters of a महाकाव्य composed in Sanskrit is सर्ग, for those of a महाकाव्य composed in प्राकृत it is either आश्वास, or सन्धि, or अवस्कन्ध. But there is no hard and fast rule as regards the word for a chapter; for even in Sanskrit poems we find the word आश्वास used for a chapter as for instance in हरिप्रबोध.

There is a rule that the metre for every chapter should be different; but the rule is not so rigid as we find in सेतुबन्ध and other महाकाव्यs one and the same metre used throughout the poem.

After the definition of a महाकाव्य the author defines an आख्यायिका. Its important features are:—

(1) It is an autobiography of some towering personality who is, of course, the hero of the आख्यायिका. In an autobiography, however, the narration of one's own exploits and virtues, as made to the readers in general would be rather out of etiquette; to obviate

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this difficulty, therefore, it is supposed in an आख्यायिका that the hero relates his story to his bosom friends in private.

(2) In an आख्यायिका there is a sprinkling of some verses in वक्त्रा or अपरवक्त्रा metre, suggesting coming events.

(3) The word for every chapter of an आख्यायिका is उच्छ्वास.

(4) It is composed in Sanskrit.

(5) It is written in prose. A few verses, occasionally inserted, do not militate against the nature of an आख्यायिका.

The notable instance of an आख्यायिका is हर्षचरित of बाणभट्ट.

कथा is written either in prose or verse and may be composed in Sanskrit or Prakrit, or any language. The hero in कथा is of the धीरशान्त type, noble-hearted and easy-going. The instance of a prose कथा is the famous कादम्बरी of बाणभट्ट. लीलावती कथा is written in verse. When a short story is introduced in course of a big story, with the object of giving some moral to the readers, it is called an उपाख्यान. The same उपाख्यान when narrated by one person with an accompaniment of music and gestures is called an आख्यान. गोविन्दाख्यान is an instance of an आख्यान.

When with the object of drawing some moral a story dealing with the lives of animals, birds or low persons is narrated, it is called a निदर्शन kind of story. The famous book, पञ्चतन्त्र of विष्णुशर्मा, and कुट्टिनीमत of दामोदरगुप्त are instances of a निदर्शन.

In प्रवल्हिका kind of a story there is a conversation between two persons who narrate the story through this conversation.

प्रेतभाषा is पैशाचिकी a Prakrit dialect.

परिकथा is a peculiar kind of story, in which various incidents are narrated in a variety of ways.

When only a part of a well-known story is narrated, either from the middle or from the portion at the end, it is called a खण्डकथा.

A complete story with all its various incidents is narrated in सकलकथा.

When out of a well-known story the life of only one person is related it is called उपकथा.

बृहत्कथा deals with the lives of many persons, contains marvellous incidents and has chapters which are named लम्भs.

चम्पू is a well-known type of a story written partly in prose and partly in verse. It is, as a rule, written in Sanskrit. The author, sometimes, introduces his own name or the names of other persons in a चम्पू. Its chapters are called उच्छ्वासs.

मुक्तकs are stray unconnected verses. Almost every verse in मुक्तक is complete in itself and is independent. Sometimes three, four, five or more verses form a group by themselves.

A verse independent and complete by itself is called a मुक्तक. Almost all the verses in अमरूकशतक are मुक्तकs.

Two verses forming one group are called संदानितक. Three verses grouped form विशेषक.

A group of four verses forms कलापक.

A group of five or more verses upto fourteen forms कुलक.

These stray or floating verses may be composed in any language.

When a number of such stray verses is introduced in a big poem it is called पर्या. Generally in every महाकाव्य

such पद्यs are found copiously in the description of seasons, sun-rise, night and others.

When there is a collection of one's stray verses it is called कोश.

Even the collection of the stray verses of other poets is called कोश, for instance, the गाथासप्तशती of हाल. Other varieties of stray verses are संघात and संहिता. The five संधिs, the beauty of style and matter, as mentioned in the definition of a महाकाव्य, are equally necessary in the case of आख्यायिका, चम्पू and other varieties of a composition.

इहान्वयमुखेनैव व्याख्यातमखिलं मया।
नामूलं लिखितं किञ्चिदुक्तं वा नानपेक्षितम् ॥